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5 MAY 1987

Southeast Asia Report

SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

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WEST EUROPE.....	ivory
AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA).....	tan
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY.....	gray
WORLDWIDES.....	pewter

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PEOPLE'S ARMY VICTORIES IN SHAN STATE

BK101301 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese 1200 GMT 9 Apr 87

[Summary from poor reception] "At about 0600 on 6 March 1987, a small unit of the People's Army ambushed a column of military government mercenaries operating between (Lon Mawk) and [name indistinct], in Maw Hpa region, east of Salween River. The attack wounded three enemy soldiers. At about the same time, the People's Army fired on the camp of the mercenary (?101st) Light Infantry Regiment and wounded four enemy soldiers."

"At about 0700 on 7 March," People's Army units raided and overran mercenary camp in (?Namhpakka) valley. To help the camp being attacked, two columns from the mercenary 105th Light Infantry Regiment headed for the camp from two directions. "But both the reinforcement columns were pinned down on the way by the attacks of small units of the People's Army." In this campaign, "15 mercenaries were killed and over 20 others, including 2 sub-lieutenants, were wounded. The People's Army also captured from the enemy one G-2, one G-3, one G-4, rounds for assorted small arms, a large quantity of rations, and other supplies.

"On 8 March, a People's Army unit clashed with a unit from the mercenary 101st Infantry Regiment. One dead enemy was found at the battle site, and one G-2 was captured.

"On 9 March, there were a series of clashes in the shrubs and on the roads in the area around the camp between People's Army units and the mercenary columns." According to incomplete reports, a total of 7 enemy soldiers were killed in these clashes while more than (?40) of them were wounded.

"There were similar encounters again on 10 March, and according to incomplete reports, 4 enemy soldiers were killed and over 20 were wounded in these battles.

"Also on 11 March, mines planted by the People's Army around the camp killed one enemy soldier and wounded (?nine) others.

"According to reports received so far, the comprehensive account of battles fought for the (Tat Bo San) camp since 7 March resulted in about 30 enemy

soldiers killed and over 130 others wounded, including 2 mercenary officers. Thus a total of 160 enemy soldiers were put out of action. Several weapons and ammunition, documents, and food supplies were captured from the enemy."

"The mine warfare carried out by a small guerrilla unit of the People's Army near (Nam Iipat) enemy camp, southeast of Mong likak, resulted in two enemy soldiers being killed and (?four) others wounded."

/9274

CSO: 4211/37

INDONESIA

SOUTH COMMISSION CHAIRMAN VISITS JAKARTA

Meets With Suharto

BK101015 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 0700 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] President Suharto has said South-South cooperation is very important as a follow-up to political independence achieved by developing countries, particularly in the wake of the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955. President Suharto said this at his residence on Cendana Street, Jakarta, this morning when he received former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who is now chairman of the South-South Commission.

The former Tanzanian president said South-South cooperation had in fact been proclaimed by the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung. President Suharto attached importance to South-South cooperation to avoid dissatisfaction and weakness.

During his visit to Indonesia, Julius Nyerere will hold talks with economists and politicians, including Prof Sumitro Joyohadikusumo. Before coming to Indonesia, Julius Nyerere had visited Malaysia, the Philippines, PRC, India, and Yugoslavia.

Ends Visit

BK130832 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 0500 GMT 13 Apr 87

[Text] South-South Commission Chairman Julius Nyerere yesterday left Indonesia for the Philippines to resume his regional tour and hold talks with that country's leaders.

Nyerere left Indonesia after receiving assurances that Indonesia fully supports the commission's proposals in fostering cooperation among developing countries aimed at improving their economies. President Suharto personally expressed Indonesia's support to the South-South Commission chairman during their talks in Jakarta last weekend.

/9274

CSO: 4200/487

WORLD BANK CHIEF MEETS SUHARTO, OTHER OFFICIALS

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 25 Mar 87 p 3

[Text]

The World Bank hopes Indonesia will make consistent adjustments of the trade sector to the situation in the world, President of the World Bank Barber Conable has stated. Speaking before newsmen after meeting with President Soeharto at Bina Graha here Tuesday, Conable expressed confidence that there would be other deregulation steps and other form of policies to promote economic development in Indonesia.

The World Bank believes that the steps taken by the Indonesia Government would be useful to the development of the Indonesian economy. But he emphasized the need to make further adjustments, particularly in connection with the deregulation steps.

In his talks with President Soeharto, Conable also discussed several aspects of adjustments the Indonesian Government had made. The World Bank president stated his understanding when he touched on economic policies adopted by the Indonesian Government. He also stated the willingness to take steps as soon as possible to settle Indonesian problems and problems faced by several other countries.

TRANSMIGRATION : Concerning transmigration, Conable said he had seen the realisation of the transmigra-

tion program in Indonesia. But the realization of the program this year will not be as fast as that in the previous years because of the lack of funds, according to the World Bank President.

But the Indonesian Government will likely make adjustments by changing several matters related to the realizations of the transmigration program. The World Bank has a good impression on the adjustment step; therefore, the bank fully supports the realization of the transmigration program, Conable said.

He also stated that the Indonesian Government had used well financial assistance given by the World Bank. The World Bank has a large number of staff members in Indonesia and they are generally satisfied with the implementation of the assistance program in Indonesia, he disclosed.

The World Bank president held a meeting with Indonesian economic ministers here Monday. The information given by the economic ministers indicates the strong economic orientation being implemented in Indonesia at present, according to Conable.

The talks touched all economic elements, Conable said, adding that the World Bank hailed all steps to be taken by the Indonesia Government in developing the economy of the country.

SUHARTO FOR SANCTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 p A1

[Text]

Jakarta, March 23 (ANTARA) - President Soeharto said the regime in Pretoria in South Africa would not listen to an international call to abolish apartheid, and even went as far as opposing such a wish and rejected a United Nations initiative.

Addressing an observance of the international day marking the abolition of racial discrimination, March 21, the President said further that the crisis in South Africa would no longer justify the postponement of the effective application of an international action to weaken the dangerous threat to international and regional peace and security caused by the provocations launched by Pretoria which was not willing to back up, not even an inch.

Indonesia, according to the President, has been convinced from the beginning that the only thing left to do is the imposition of an overall sanction which may force South Africa to accommodate world opinion. Only the concrete and concerted action of the international community would be able to end the conflict in that disunity-ridden country.

The total isolation of the racial discrimination in South Africa must remain one of the principal aims of the Indonesian people.

The Indonesian government and people, he added, used the ceremony to reaffirm their firm support to the lawful struggle of the oppressed South Africans to abolish the racial discrimination and to bring about justice and equality in that country.

/9274

CSO: 4200/491

TRADE FIGURES WITH ITALY

Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 25 Mar 87 p 8

[Text]

A lot of Italian trade missions, including governmental delegation, and Italian investors have visited Indonesia in the past several years. Not long ago, an Italian non-governmental trade mission headed by Dr. Giesoppe Ratti visited Indonesia to study the possibility of expanding direct trade relations between Italy and this country.

A group of Italian businessmen visited here last month to explore the possibility of making investment in Indonesia. A group of 16 Italian businessmen led by Rosalino Orlando has just visited here to pave the way for the realization of the plan to carry out serious businesses in this country.

The value of trade between the two countries has increased by about 500% in the past ten years. Indonesia has enjoyed surpluses in trade with Italy in the past ten years, except 1983, when Indonesia sustained a deficit of US\$ 5,232,300.

The balance of trade between Indonesia and Italy from 1976 to 1986, according to statistical data collected by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), is as follows:

YEAR	INDON. EXPORTS		INDON. IMPORTS		BALANCE FOR INDON. (US\$)
	VOLUME (M.TON)	FOB VALUE (US\$)	VOLUME (M.TON)	CIF VALUE (US\$)	
1976	177,500.0	73,419,062	41,039.9	68,887,441	+ 4,531,62
1977	257,851.7	109,368,379	20,593.1	51,513,749	+ 57,854,63
1978	299,858.8	125,832,073	24,538.8	58,646,314	+ 67,185,75
1979	415,771.5	209,943,145	36,292.9	67,108,908	+142,834,23
1980	473,126.7	254,414,692	27,511.3	75,882,317	+178,532,37
1981	417,059.5	167,600,612	74,093.7	95,655,584	+ 71,945,02
1982	329,805.8	141,493,058	71,996.7	104,418,584	+ 37,074,47
1983	238,273.4	119,472,281	46,877.5	124,704,611	- 5,232,330
1984	373,269.9	167,330,141	34,518.1	113,187,425	+ 54,142,716
1985	364,171.1	152,017,017	41,716.2	101,378,588	+ 50,638,429
1986 (Jan-Sept)	210,240.9	113,140,261	42,826.5	99,210,395	+ 13,929,866

Italy's imports from Indonesia have in the past ten years expanded from only 30 kinds of commodities to about 120 kinds. Italian consumers are interested in using wood products from Indonesia from sawn timber to plywood.

Other Indonesian commodities much demanded at the Italian markets are rubber, petroleum, palm oil, coffee, spices and many other kinds of basic materials. The Italian mission headed by Rosalino Orlando has studied the possibility of investing capital in Indonesia, particularly in industries which process animal hides, timber, rattan, rubber and other basic materials.

Indonesia's imports from Italy have in the past ten years expanded from 50 kinds of commodities to about 150 kinds, mostly consisting of industrial products.

/9274

CSO: 4200/491

INVESTMENT BOARD CHIEF SAYS DEREGULATION TO STAY

Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 p A6

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Mar (ANTARA)--Chairman of the Capital Investment Coordinating Board (BKPM) Ginandjar Kartasasmita told a Dutch investment mission here Monday that they should not worry about any changes in the government policies particularly on investment.

The government would be consistent and would not lift its deregulation policies just because of the recovering oil prices, said the BKPM chairman before the visiting Dutch investors led by FA Engering.

Ginandjar assured that the government would maintain its already-issued policies and "if there is a change, it is for the sake of creating a better atmosphere for luring more investment."

He said the BKPM was not arranging a new Scale Priority List which will offer new investment potential.

Commenting on the Japanese investors' recent switch to Thailand and Malaysia where there are tax holiday facilities, Ginandjar said with the present investment policies, the investment in Indonesia was adequately substantial as well.

"There is no need to panick," he said, noting that compared with other countries, Indonesia at present had many comparative advantages such as abundant natural resources, cheap labour, steadily stable political and security conditions.

The foreign investments entering Thailand and Malaysia are largely for those industries of high technology and intensive-capital, while those requiring huge labour, natural resources and of the long-term, generally flow to Indonesia, he said.

Fairly Good

In the first three months of 1987, the investments approved by the BKPM are bigger than that of the previous year, indicating a fairly good climate of investment in Indonesia.

Ginandjar, who serves also as junior minister for the promotion of domestic products, expected a better performance in 1987.

"It is because that Indonesia has taken deregulation measures in the investment area since 1985, such as the 6th May package and the 25th October package in 1986," he said.

On the Dutch investment mission, Ginandjar said they were keen to embark on the food and electrical equipment industries.

/9274

CSO: 4200/491

PARTIES HOLD FINAL PREELECTION RALLIES

BK160410 Hong Kong AFP in English 0400 GMT 16 Apr 87

[Text] Jakarta, 16 Apr (AFP)--The government Golkar [Functional Group] party Thursday prepared for its grand final election rally here by marshalling government workers and the country's top singers and offering door prizes ranging from colour television sets to ball-point pens.

Thousands of civil servants in the capital city of eight million people were told they could take time off work to attend Thursday's rally, the party's last of the 25-day campaign period prior to the 23 April elections.

Golkar, which hopes to gain at least 70 percent of the national vote, announced they would have parachutists, more than 100 top artists and a contest between choral groups at the meeting in the city's main Senayan sports stadium.

A Golkar radio station announced that door prizes would include two Vespa scooters, five 20-inch colour television sets, five 16-inch colour television sets, 24 bicycles, 25 sewing machines, 50 wristwatches, 200 ball-point pens and 500 cassette tapes carrying Golkar songs.

Golkar Chairman State Secretary Sudharmono said in Surabaya, East Java, on Wednesday that he would be flying back to Jakarta from the provinces, where he has been stumping for the party, to address the rally.

The Moslem United Development Party (PPP) drew a huge crowd estimated by observers at between 300,000 and 400,000 at its final rally here Wednesday, while the third contestant in the parliamentary elections, the small Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) is scheduled to hold its final gathering in the capital Friday.

Saturday will mark the beginning of a "cooling off week" during which the national press has been barred from reporting "anything that might influence the vote."

An exception has been made for Saturday, officials said, so that journalists can report on both the Golkar and the PDI final rallies.

Local newspapers, which will be closed for Good Friday, made the most of their last day of comment Thursday.

The daily PRIORITY quoted a Sumatran University professor as saying: "The campaign is a joke, we have the bands, Titiek Puspa (a well known singer) when what we really need is good politicians with new ideas."

A prominent intellectual and member of the government think tank Harry Chan Silalahi told the Golkar newspaper SUARA KARYA: "The campaign has improved. But there are still times when local crowds' emotions are fuelled by primordial appeals."

An estimated 59 people were killed in traffic accidents and violent incidents in the last 1982 elections, and so far officials have confirmed 28 hospitalized in party clashes and related accidents in the provinces since the campaign began this year.

Election Commission officials say they cannot confirm reports of three deaths, two in Jakarta and one in Klaten, Central Java and another 12 injured in the capital.

/9274
CSO: 4200/487

BRIEFS

KUWAITI LOAN FOR ROAD CONSTRUCTION--Director General for Foreign Monetary Affairs Soegito Sastromidjojo, on behalf of the Indonesian government, and Bader Al-Humaidhi, representing the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, signed an aid agreement involving KD 6.47 million (US\$ 22 million) to help realize the construction of the Padalarang-Cileunyi toll road in West Java. The signing of the document was also witnessed by Director General for Road Construction and Development Suryatin Sastromijoyo and President Director of PT Jasa Marga Yuwono Kolopaking. The loan is payable in 20 years and carries an annual interest of 3.5 percent. The 53.445-km toll road goes through the regency of Bandung and the Bandung municipality, and would cost US\$ 165.2 million to build. The funds is expected to be derived from 3 courses, viz. Saudi Fund for Development SR 172 million (US\$ 50 million), the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, and local sources amounting to the equivalent of US\$ 93.2 million. [Text] [Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English 25 Mar 87 p 3] /9274

ADB GRANT FOR SWAMPLAND STUDY--Manila, 21 Mar (ANTARA)--The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved technical assistance grants to Indonesia, the Manila based institution announced here Friday. The grants are to support a swampland drainage study in south Sumatra and a review of Jakarta's financial sector to help the ADB formulate an effective program of assistance to Indonesia's private sector, an ADB statement said. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Mar 87 p A7] /9274

AIR AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRIA--Vienna, 21 Mar (ANTARA)--Indonesia and Austria signed an air transport agreement here Thursday, following the opening of direct flights between Vienna and Bali last November. The agreement was signed by Indonesian ambassador to Austria Mrs Artati Sudirdjo and Dr Erich Pinder, the head of transport department of the Austrian foreign ministry. an official of the Indonesian embassy here told ANTARA Friday. Mrs Artati Sudirdja in her address at the signing ceremony hoped that the agreement would promote relations between the two countries. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 21 Mar 87 p A1] /9274

NEW COAL MINE STARTS PRODUCTION--Bengkulu, 24 Mar (ANTARA)--A new coal mine in Taba Tanjung regency of North Bengkulu, PT Danau Mas Hitam, launched maiden production in early March, the company's chief representative for Bengkulu, Dicky Sangga disclosed here Monday. He said the mine had produced 12,600 tons

of coal comprising 3,300 tons delivered to the Chibinong cement plant, 4,300 tons to the Gresik cement plant and 5,000 tons to the Nasantara cement plant. With the establishment of this new coal plant, Bengkulu at present has two mines, the first, PT Bukit Sunur which has already turned out 400,000 tons. The province is estimated to keep coal reserves of 4.8 billion tons. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 p A1] /9274

JAPAN'S INDONESIAN OIL IMPORT DROPS--Tokyo, 24 Mar (ANTARA)--Japan's imports of crude oils from Indonesia during the month of February totalled 2.26 million kiloliters, or decreased by 5.9 percent compared with that of February of last year. But Indonesia during that month displaced Saudi Arabia as the second biggest oil supplier to Japan, while the first place is still being held by the United Arab Emirates (UAE), supplying a total of 3.27 million kiloliters or decreased by 9.0 percent. The import from Saudi Arabia also decreased into 1.88 million kiloliters during that period. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 p A5] /9274

BULOG'S RICE PROCUREMENT--Jakarta, 23 Mar (ANTARA)--The logistic board (Bulog) has until this month procured 71,000 tons of rice in the framework of the national food stock this year. "This amount is better than in the same period of 1986 which was only 9,300 tons," Junior Minister for Food production Ir. Wardoyo told the press at Bina Graha Wednesday after he reported the national food situation to President Soeharto, Monday. He said that effort to procure the national food stock had been made in Java, West Nusatenggara, South Sulawesi and Bali. The logistic board is expected to collect 1.6 million tons of rice from the farmers this year. He also noted that rice production in 1986 rose by 0.91 percent compared to the same period of 1985. The island of Java is still playing significant role in rice production, notably 61 percent from the total national production, though its harvesting acreage has reduced to only 53 percent from the national acreage. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 pp A1, A2] /9274

MALAYSIA BORDER CHECKS INTENSIFIED--Kota Kinabalu, 25 Mar (ANTARA)--Indonesia is stepping up checks along its border with Malaysia in Kalimantan to prevent Indonesians from illegally entering Sabah and Sarawak. Indonesian Consul-General to Sabah and Sarawak Danar Doenoe was quoted by Bernama Tuesday as saying that the move followed a meeting between Indonesian Manpower Minister Sudono and Indonesian police and immigration officers on February 28. "The decision has also been conveyed to Sabah Chief Minister Joseph Pairin Kitingan on Saturday," he said after lunching with Indonesian Ambassador to Malaysia Haji Limawan Soetanto and officers of the Association of Indonesian Families in Sabah and Sarawak here. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p A2] /9274

RESEARCH PROGRAM WITH NASA--Indonesia is still hoping for the continuation of the outer space research program by Dr Pratiwi Sudharmono under NASA program. Tourist, Post, and Telecommunications Minister Ahmad Tahir said in Jakarta yesterday. The minister said he was still awaiting for the decision of the United States Government for the continuation of Dr Pratiwi's research program. On behalf of the Indonesian Government, Minister Ahmad Tahir expressed gratitude to the U.S. Government for the launching of the Palapa B-2-P satellite by the U.S. Delta rocket last month. Indonesia is still expecting the U.S. Government's report for the launching of the next Palapa satellite, he added. [Text] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 9 Apr 87 BK] /9274

NEW GAS FIND--Jakarta, 25 Mar (ANTARA)--The state-owned oil company, Pertamina, found new natural gas reserves on Bunyu Island, East Kalimantan, recently, its spokesman K. A. Endin said here Tuesday. According to Endin, the gas reserves have a production capacity of 6.17 million cubic feet of natural gas and 5.66 barrels of condensate per day. The natural gas was struck in Bunyu Reuris-2 well areas, some three kilometers northwest of the Bunyu oil field or about one kilometer southeast of Bunyu Reuris-1 well. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 25 Mar 87 p A4] /9274

TRANSMIGRATION FROM CENTRAL JAVA--Semarang, 23 Mar (ANTARA)--The Central Java transmigration office this month moved 716 migrant families (2,970 persons) to be resettled in several smallholder's nucleus estates outside Java. They were 330 families (1,399 persons) for Riau, 181 families (708 persons) for Central Kalimantan, 75 families (313 persons) for South Kalimantan and 130 families (550 persons) for South Sulawesi. Their embarkation was made through the Surabaya seaport on board a Navy ship. These migrant families would get employment in coconut and rubber estates in the provinces. A source of the Central Java transmigration office said that the sending of the Central Javanese migrants to the new resettlement projects are expected to improve their welfare and future which would be better than in their original campongs. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 24 Mar 87 p A4] /9274

TRANSMIGRATION FROM WEST JAVA--Bandung, 28 Mar (ANTARA)--The representative office of the Transmigration Ministry in Bandung, West Java, had dispatched 416,000 transmigrants (in 141,528 families) in the third year of the current fourth five-year development plan until February 1987 to resettlement sites outside Java. The figure includes 1,509 transmigrants (in 304 families) who had been sent to the transmigration receiving areas only in February, the head of the representative office explained. The official, Sutardi Kartawiria, told ANTARA interest was rising among the people of West Java to transmigrate to transmigration locations outside Java as a result of information campaigns by the Transmigration Ministry. The latest batches of the transmigrants who were dispatched in February 1987 were sent to resettlement centers in Jambi, Aceh, West Sumatra, Bengkulu, East Kalimantan and Riau. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 28 Mar 87 p A4] /9274

BALI'S RICE FIELDS DECREASING--Denpasar, 23 Mar (ANTARA)--The land used for rice fields in Bali is getting smaller now because the people have changed the fields into houses, offices, industrial centres and hard crops plantations, not to mention land erosion and abrasion. There is also the problem of infertility which has made it difficult to develop the rice field acreage in the island, Bali Governor Ida Endus Mantra stated at a Bimas (Mass Guidance) meeting here Thursday. The government has tried to improve the quality of the land through the intensification programme which is hoped to increase rice production in Bali. Despite the smaller rice field acreage, Bali has been able to improve its rice output, from 815,831 tonnes in 1984 to 846,843 tonnes in 1985 and 878,448 tonnes in 1986. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLETIN in English 29 Mar 87 p A3] /9274

TRADE SURPLUS WITH PRC--Jakarta, 30 Mar (ANTARA)--Since the opening of direct trade relations between Indonesia and the People's Republic of China (PRC) in July 1986 until the end of December 1986, the trade balance between the two

countries was in favour of Indonesia, due to PRC's substantial demands for Indonesian commodities. Data obtained by ANTARA from the China Committee of KADIN Indonesia (Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry) showed that Indonesia's exports to the PRC recorded during that period a value of US\$ 310 million, whereas Indonesia's imports from the PRC stood at US\$ 114 million; a surplus for Indonesia of US\$ 196 million. Indonesia's exports consisted mostly of fertilizer, sawn timber, plywood, rubber, coffee, cardamon, cashews, steel and palm-oil. To step up direct trade between the two countries, the PRC plans to participate with 45 firms in the upcoming Jakarta Trade Fair June 20, 1987 in the framework of the Jakarta's anniversary commemoration. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLLTIN in English 30 Mar 87 p A10] /9274

1986 NONOIL EXPORTS DROP--Jakarta, 30 Mar (ANTARA)--Indonesia's nonoil exports in 1986 dropped by some 3.3 percent compared with those in the corresponding period of 1985, according to data available at Bank Indonesia here Monday. The 1985 nonoil exports were valued at US\$ 5,983 million. [Text] [Jakarta ANTARA NEWS BULLLTIN in English 31 Mar 87 pp A2, A3] /9274

DEFENSE MINISTER RECEIVES SPANISH COUNTERPART--The visiting Spanish defense minister, Narciso Serra i Serra, paid a courtesy call on his Indonesian counterpart, Defense Minister Poniman, at the latter's office in Jakarta yesterday. The Spanish minister is visiting Indonesia in a reciprocal visit to Minister Poniman's visit to Spain in March 1985. During the meeting yesterday, both defense ministers discussed various matters pertaining to bilateral relations between the two countries and exchanged views on development of economic and industrial fields in their respective countries. Minister Serra i Serra, on the occasion, expressed his hope that his visit would step up the existing good relations between Spain and Indonesia. He also said that Indonesia is a country with great potential in Southeast Asia. [Text] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Apr 87 BK] /9274

NU LEADER URGES GOLKAR VOTE--The Nahdlatul Ulama [Muslim Scholar's Group] leader Kiai Haji Yusuf Hashim has called on the Nahdlatul Ulama members to realize their political aspirations by voting for Golongan Karya [Functional Group] which has thus far shown concrete results in national development. The call by Kiai Haji Yusuf Hashim, who is a leading political figure of Nahdlatul Ulama, was made at a prayer session at the Transmigration Training Center in Sleman, Yogyakarta, this evening. Yusuf Hashim said he expressed his views openly as part of the efforts of the Nahdlatul Ulama to maintain the group's dignity. He stressed that his views had been adopted by the group's regional and branch executive committee members through the country. His views were further strengthened after a letter from the highest leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, Kiai Haji Ali Ma'sum, who was not present at the prayer session, was read to the audience to the effect that the Nahdlatul Ulama members should heed the call made by Kiai Haji Yusuf Hashim. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1500 GMT 15 Apr 87 BK] /9274

TV STATION INAUGURATED--Riau Province yesterday began receiving TVRI [Republic of Indonesia Television Network] programs from Jakarta with clear reception after the inauguration of TVRI's 10th transmission station at Pulau Kijang.

Justice Minister Ismail Saleh, in inaugurating the station, expressed the hope that with the station's full operations, a wider flow of information to the district will be improved. The station at Pulau Kijang was constructed following the presidential allocation of 225 million rupiahs as provided in the 1986-87 budget. The minister, during his round of working visit to the province, also inaugurated a rural electrification project at Bintang Timur district. He presented a television set to the Information Department as a donation to the Tua Paya community. [Text] [Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 0600 GMT 16 Apr 87 BK] /9274

'SPECIAL' FUEL FOR ROCKET LAUNCH--Indonesia's National Aviation and Outer Space Institute, Lapan, has succeeded in launching a rocket with a diameter of 150 mm using homemade fuel. Lapan said yesterday the launch on 23 March used a special kind of fuel, a combination of polyurethane and polysulfide to enable the rocket to reach a considerably longer distance than if it used the normal type of fuel. The success has a special significance for Indonesian experts in their attempt for mastering space technology. Mr Kisman Subandi of Lapan said the success should stimulate Lapan's space personnel to further increase their capabilities which may enable them some time in the future to build an earth control system for a rocket. He admitted, however, that Lapan was still far behind its counterparts in other countries which have already been able to place an object in space. [Text] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 9 Apr 87 BK] /9274

MP WANTS 'FOUR ISSUES' CLARIFIED--Indonesian House Deputy Speaker Harjantho Sumodisastro has called on the government to hold intensive lobbying with Western European envoys to give full account on the four issues in Indonesia, including human rights and transmigration program, which until now have not been fully understood by the public in Europe. Mr Harjantho Sumodisastro, who recently led an Indonesian parliamentary delegation to several European countries, called on President Suharto at the Bina Graha office Monday [13 April] discussing the results of the mission. He told newsmen following the meeting that the other two issues are the execution of those involved in the abortive communist coup in 1965 and the East Timor question. The leading member of parliament from the National Democratic faction said the aim of the delegation included [words indistinct] the wrong political perception on the four issues. [Text] [Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 14 Apr 87 BK] /9274

MORE FRIGATES FOR NAVY--The ABRI commander-in-chief, Gen. 'Senny' Mardani told a Parliamentary group in mid February that the country is expanding its navy. It would receive delivery of six frigates this year. The two bought from the Dutch navy were commissioned at the eastern Java port of Semarang, and four more will be delivered later this year. Purchase of the refurbished warships will expand the number of frigates in the navy by one third--from 13 to 19. General Mardani stressed that expansion of the fleet was purely for defensive purpose and does not pose a threat to any country, although it has the largest navy in Southeast Asia. The country, a sprawling archipelago of 13,000 islands, controls several important international sea lanes. Indonesia has a navy of 37,000 men, which is regarded by military analysts as too small to defend the country's long coastline against smuggling and piracy as well as to maintain security for its offshore oil bases. The Government has announced plans to build its own warships, with US \$5 billion earmarked for construction of up to 23 small frigates at Indonesia dockyards over the next 30 years. [Text] [Kuala Lumpur ASIAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Mar 87 p 130] /9274

SOUTH COMMISSION CHAIRMAN NYERERE ARRIVES FOR CONSULTATIONS

Met by Prime Minister

BK070921 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 7 Apr 87

[Text] The chairman of the South Commission, Dr Julius Kambarage Nyerere, arrived in Kuala Lumpur this morning for consultations with Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamed on the organization and functions of the commission. He was met on arrival at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport by the prime minister.

They will hold talks this afternoon which will be followed by a meeting of the advisory panel on the South Commission. Tomorrow, Dr Nyerere will chair a discussion on South-South cooperation at the Institute of Strategic and International Studies. He is also due to visit the Federal Land Development Authority scheme and the University of Malaya.

Dr Nyerere is on a tour of several Third World countries to get their views on cooperation between developing countries. Before coming to Malaysia, he had been to the Latin American countries of Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil, Colombia, and Peru. From here, Dr Nyerere will proceed to Indonesia, the Philippines, India, China, Egypt and Yugoslavia.

The idea of the South Commission was mooted by Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir in May last year. Dr Nyerere accepted an appointment as chairman in October.

Gives Press Conference

BK090747 Kuala Lumpur Bernama in English 0659 GMT 9 Apr 87

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 9 Apr (OANA-BERNAMA)--The South Commission will look into ways to develop cooperation and solidarity among the South countries so that they will be united when dealing with the industrialised North countries, its chairman, Dr Julius K. Nyerere, said Thursday.

He said South-North dialogue would be more meaningful if the South countries had solidarity.

Speaking at a press conference here, he said that presently in North-South dealings, the industrialised North countries were more coordinated in their stand.

He said the South lacked coordination in taking position on issues when facing the North, thus resulting in South-North dialogues less meaningful for the South countries.

Dr Nyerere, who is also former president of Tanzania, said the commission, which was established last September, had yet to appoint its members.

Asked if the commission would be successful in forging the cooperation and solidarity among the South countries, Dr Nyerere said he agreed to be its chairman because he believed the commission could carry [words indistinct].

On obstacles to South-South cooperation, Dr Nyerere said ignorance of one another's development and prejudice against each other were among the main stumbling blocks.

Even if a South country was not ignorant of another's development, its prejudices towards another South country would still be an obstacle to having cooperation, he said.

Dr Nyerere arrived here on Tuesday for a three-day visit to seek views on how the commission should function.

He said the commission would try to overcome the problems and look into examples of cooperation among various regional [word indistinct] in the South to get some ideas on the ways to promote cooperation among the South countries.

On the appointment of the commission's members, Dr Nyerere said he had been talking to several potential Malaysian candidates and hoped to appoint a Malaysian as a member of the commission.

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CSO: 4200/488

VOPM CRITICIZES KUALA LUMPUR'S TREATMENT OF SABAH

BK130733 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Malaysia in Malay 1300 GMT
11 Apr 87

["News commentary"]

[Text] On 3 January this year, Dr Jeffrey, chairman of the Sabah Institute of Research and Development, issued a statement criticizing the Kuala Lumpur regime's interference in Sabah's internal affairs. In his statement, he pointed out that the Kuala Lumpur regime does not honor the 20-point agreement drawn up when Sabah joined Malaysia. This action is one of the reasons why the Sabah people are strongly dissatisfied with the Kuala Lumpur regime.

Dr Jeffrey's statement soon attracted the attention of many people in the country. The statement also showed that the merger of the Sabah United Party [PBS] with the ruling Barisan Nasional had failed to reduce the strained relations between the Sabah government and the federal government.

Responding to Dr Jeffrey's statement, the Mahathir regime said that Dr Jeffrey should produce evidence of the regime's breach of the agreement and write a formal letter to the federal government so investigations can be carried out and talks between the two sides held.

In response to the Mahathir regime's reaction, Dr Jeffrey expressed his hope that the federal government would seriously review the agreement and uphold the original spirit of the agreement. He also said that his group would present a memorandum on the matter to the federal government.

Sabah Chief Minister Pairin also paid great attention to the issue and demanded the state government prepare a report on the matter. He also urged the Sabah Institute of Research and Development to provide the state government with the 20-point agreement and directed the Sabah Attorney General Office to review the background of Sabah's independence through the establishment of Malaysia.

Dr Jeffrey, a U.S.-trained political scientists, is a younger brother of Sabah Chief Minister Pairin. He once focussed on the Sabah people's political dissatisfaction in his dissertation entitled: "Political Stability and Economic Development in Malaysia" in which he warned that if the Sabah people's dissatisfaction were left unchecked, it would lead to [words indistinct] or even a trend demanding a separate state.

Dr Jeffrye's views have attracted the attention of politicians in the country.

Shortly after assuming his post as director of the Sabah Foundation in May 1985, Dr Jeffrey did his best to reorganize the foundation. However, his efforts were described by Mahathir and his ilk as discriminating against Malay personnel or those coming from the peninsula.

Meanwhile, Dr Jeffrey's critics in Sabah, who were backed by Mahathir and his ilk, described his efforts in pursuing a racist and antifederal government policy.

In response to such criticisms, Dr Jeffrey retorted that we all have to match our words and deeds and that we should think as Malaysian, not as Kadazan, Chinese, or Malays. He [words indistinct] in the reorganization of the Sabah Foundation and he does not believe the federal government is pursuing a sincere multiracial policy.

In short, Dr Jeffrey's remarks on the federal government's breach of the 20-point agreement and its interference in Sabah's internal affairs were not something deliberately made up or even an irresponsible action aimed at attaining certain political gains as alleged by United Malays National Organization leaders and his critics in Sabah. Instead, what he said indeed came from the Sabah people's conscience and reflected their growing dissatisfaction toward the Kuala Lumpur regime.

Since Sabah joined Malaysia, the Sabah people have never enjoyed political sovereignty as stipulated in the 20-point agreement. The Kuala Lumpur regime's delay in recognizing the PBS's election victory and the subsequent attempts to wrest state control from the PBS showed that the Sabah people's political sovereignty had been blatantly violated.

Besides, even though the Kuala Lumpur regime has already reaped much profits from Sabah's vast resources, it still allocated meagre development funds to Sabah. In the collection of income tax from Sabah's resources, unjust and irrational tendencies emerge. According to an official's disclosure in 1985, Sabah once planned to share tax revenues from oil sales between the state and federal government with 55 to 45 ratio. However, when Datuk Harris was Sabah chief minister, the state government collected only 5 percent from the overall tax revenues and the rest were taken by the federal government. In February this year, the PBS government demanded a review of the tax revenues ratio.

In the education field, the Mahathir regime is adamant in implementing the so-called education policy which stresses the importance of national Malay language while disregarding Sabah's cultural reality. This has resulted in the slow progress of education in Sabah. All this has brought about strong dissatisfaction among the Sabah people.

The best course of action the Mahathir regime can pursue is to sincerely respect the Sabah people's aspirations and sovereignty as well as to rectify the existing unequal status. Any actions contrary to the above course of action will definitely be rejected by the Sabah people.

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CSO: 4200/488

CNL CONGRESS ON AQUINO RIGHTS RECORD, U.S. CHURCH ROLE

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 12 Apr 87 p 5

["Paid Advertisement" by the Christians for National Liberation Third Mindanao Congress: "CNL-Mindanao Third Congress Statement"]

[Text]

The Filipino people burst forth with exuberant psalms of victory with the ouster of the Marcos dictatorship. Sudden and unexpected joy swept the entire land because of the downfall of the Marcos fascist rule. And with the end of the Marcos tyranny, the people saw in the new Aquino leadership a new hope for the restoration of their basic rights and the fulfillment of their aspirations for peace, justice, freedom and democracy.

It is over a year now since the uprising and the ascendancy of the Aquino camp into the leadership of the state. The psalms of victory remained songs of the élite and the minority of the reactionary ruling classes. The hope for basic and fundamental changes in society has become a nightmare. The people has come to an early realization that the Aquino regime is essentially no different from the Marcos regime even with its pretensions and avowed commitments to human rights and democracy. The state fascism as implemented by the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the graft and corruption in the bureaucracy, the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation in the countryside, and the more aggressive domination of the country by US imperialism are still the hallmarks of our society under the present regime. Add to these features the collaboration of the reactionary leaders of the Christian churches with the Aquino government, then we truly have a church-backed US-Aquino regime.

To cite a few instances and events in Mindanao.

An intensified militarization of the island is presently being launched to an unprecedented level. Big military counter-insurgency operations are being mobilized with massive air support from Sikorsky helicopter gunships. Bombings and strafing of populated areas in Davao City, Davao del Sur and del Norte, and Lanao del Norte have been resorted to. Para-military groups such as the ICHDF and the many fanatical groups are being legitimized, and expanded by the Aquino government to provide civilian support to the military operations.

In the guise of "People Power", rabid anti-communist civilian armed vigilantes have been formed and organized by the military, the local government officials, and a few local businessmen. Of recent vintage are the ALSA MASA, NAKASAKA, and BAGWIS. These are truly armed terrorist groups that grip the community in fear and captivity.

Persecution of progressive church people in terms of black propaganda, moral slander, harassment has re-appeared in the scene. Fr. Diosdado Ladera of Misamis Oriental was falsely and conveniently charged by the military for alleged participation in an ambush staged by the NPA. The Redemptorists, the Assumption Sisters, and the Carmelite Nuns of Davao City are falsely accused of hiding arms in their convents. Priests and sisters not sympathetic to their organizations are being told by these armed civilian vigilantes to get out of Davao.

As Christians and church people of the christian churches in Mindanao, we ask: what is the response of the institutional churches in Mindanao and in the entire country to the present situation of an all-out war against insurgency? We cite a few instances that clearly reveal the pro-government and anti-revolutionary bias of our churches. The CBCP January 1987 Pastoral Letter, instead of looking into and analyzing the root causes of the fact of violence and revolution that exists in the country, confronts right away the priests and religious involved in the social transformation of mankind and society and warns them against political involvement and violence. Cardinal Sin, forgetting his heretofore non-violent political position, openly endorses the use of arms and violence against the insurgents. Archbishop Manuel Salvador of Cebu is actively involved in the anti-insurgency campaign of the military and justifies the communist armed civilian groups like the Alsa Masa. Even here in Mindanao, we have a Jesuit priest and the Mindanao Sulu Social Action Secretariat (MISSA) who support said ALSA MASA.

We, the delegates to the 3rd CNL Mindanao Congress, denounce the subservience and puppetry of the Aquino regime to the interests of US imperialism and its local comprador-landlord partners.

We deplore the unholy alliance of the reactionary church leadership with the US-Aquino regime. This alliance has legitimized the present ruling system. It has justified its reactionary interests and perspective. It has tried to cover with its support and blessing the anti-people and pro-US character of the Aquino regime.

Faithful to the prophetic tradition of our christian faith exemplified by the Passion, Death and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we once again commit our lives to the advance of the national democratic revolution as our contribution to the historical task of redeeming the Filipino people!



CHRISTIANS FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION 3rd MINDANAO CONGRESS Mindanao April 1987

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CSO: 4200/499

PHILIPPINES

STUDY PAPER ASSESSES REFORM LAG UNDER AQUINO RULE

HK071415 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 7 Apr 87 p 3

[Text] The Aquino Government did a lot of foot dragging in many areas of reform affecting the non-Marcos-identified rich during its first 11 months in power, a paper prepared by members of the academe, government, and private sector said.

A Philippine Institute for Development Studies-supported paper on "Economic Recovery and Long-run Growth: A Review of the First Eleven Months of the Aquino Government," although conceding that government has a "coherent reform package" to back its "admirable goals," nonetheless pointed out that the same government has been "very slow to adopt needed reforms that hurt segments of society which are not identified with the past regime."

What reform areas were neither tackled on time nor seriously addressed?

The paper pointed to "slow progress" in land reform, closure of redundant and unproductive state ministries (now departments) and firms, no serious effort at stopping "overexploitation" of forestry resources and inequitable distribution of natural resources.

On trade and industry policy, "no concrete steps" were taken on the car and truck manufacturing programs though suggestions were many on how many participants there should be and for a reduction in sales tax, the paper said.

The government failed to come up with a comprehensive set of policies on foreign investment, forcing resort to a "case-to-case" approach.

On monetary and fiscal policy, the paper pointed out that though one of the new regime's explicitly stated monetary policies is to reduce cost of intermediation, "virtually nothing" was done toward that end. Regulations that tend to raise intermediation cost were still being maintained, it noted, and this had contributed substantially to the high real lending rate which deterred investment.

Government credit programs for the rural sector remained "fragmented" because President Aquino failed to sign an executive order submitted to her last year yet to rationalize such programs.

The paper said growth targets are unattainable and social reforms will be difficult unless the country obtains enough additional financing to permit zero net foreign transfer of resources. "The country still faces the prospect of becoming a net payer instead of a net receiver of foreign capital," it noted.

(The country's chief negotiator in the debt restructuring talks neither asked for nor obtained any additional financing from creditor banks. Instead, a voluntary arrangement for the banks to buy up Philippine Investment Notes (PINs) was drawn up which, Finance Secretary Jaime Ongpin said, would enable the country to conserve foreign exchange which would otherwise go to payment of interest falling due and to promote investment in preferred areas. Attainment of both aims depends on how popular the PINs would be with the banks.)

The government's labor policies failed to adequately address the low levels of, and decreases in, real wages and the large number of families below the poverty line, the paper noted.

On the social services side, the paper said the government still needed to declare how it expects its social programs to be a mechanism for wealth redistribution. If failed to define who are the poor, the targets for decreasing poverty, and the role of each government agency in achieving redistribution and equity.

Postponement of the real estate tax assessment and the gradual withdrawal of taxes on dividends "seem to show that government is vulnerable to lobbying by wealthy interest groups," the paper noted. In addition, disappointing progress was made in making the tax system more equitable, it said.

A "huge gap" between government pronouncement and action was seen relative to the peace and order problem. "There is still a general perception that government is ineffective in restoring peace and order. Murders and kidnappings remain unsolved. Justice is slow, especially to coup plotters. This is reinforced by the fact that some law enforcers are involved in criminal activities," the paper said.

Corruption in the top echelons of government was significantly reduced but this had yet to seep down to the bureaucracy, according to the paper. "Up to now, no major official of the previous regime has been convicted for corrupt practices, and this might give a wrong signal to current officials."

And finally, although the Presidential Commission on Government Reorganization's work on reorganizing and streamlining the civil service bureaucracy was completed, President Aquino signed only four out of the total 54 draft executive orders prepared to reflect this.

In sum, the paper stressed that although the new government adopted significant measures in many areas to correct the past regime's excesses and abuses, "in many cases, the measures fell short of requirements to produce meaningful results."

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CSO: 4200/494

VERITAS CHARGES CORRUPTION IN AQUINO FAMILY, GOVERNMENT

Allegations Against 'Peping,' 'Tingting'

Quezon City VERITAS in English 25 Mar 87 pp 16-19

[Article by Reina-Marie B. Casenras: "The Peping-Tingting Cojuangco Connection"]

[Text]

ACED with an administration slate whose campaign machinery is well oiled by the active endorsement of the country's most popular President in decades, the new Opposition — a grand alliance whose members have been tagged as post-Revolution "misfits," Cory's "discards," and Marcos loyalists — is weighed down by charges of irrelevance and lack of credibility. In retaliation, it has trained its guns with unerring aim, not at popular Cory, but at her "unpopular" government.

For starters, the first salvos fired just days into the nation's first legitimate contest for political power since the Revolution, have for their target Margarita "Tingting" R. Cojuangco, the beauteous and, some say, meddlesome wife of the President's brother Jose "Peping" Cojuangco, Jr.

The Opposition really didn't need to warm up. What had surfaced as coffee shop *chismis* in mid-'86 became the subject of "dossiers" circulated by Opposition figures last month in obvious preparation for an oblique attack on President Aquino in a campaign against Peping, who is widely known to be his sister's unofficial political adviser.

Cojuangco is also the chairman of the powerful PDP-Laban party which was criticized at one point early last year by other member parties of the ruling coalition for allegedly maneuvering to get the majority of appointive positions both in the national and local levels of government.

In sometimes colorful language, the dossiers suggest that post-Revolution politics is no different from the old regime's, with the Cojuangco couple merely taking over — hiring and firing where needed — the Marcos-Romualdez network of political patronage and crony relationships.

The portrait drawn by critics of Cojuangco as a ruthless mix of Machiavelli and Mafia godfather, who gambles for the highest stakes in power and money, is belied by the person in the flesh. Jose Cojuangco Jr., 52, quiet of dress and demeanor, implies that "old money" makes the difference. "We had already achieved something when my sister became President." He speaks of his goals in terms of political good and national evils. You mean like the Good Fairy? And the wry humor surfaces: "You could say that, yes." The violent clash between images is strangely moving.

In a 90-minute interview last March 9, Cojuangco described his role in government decision-making but stressed that he was active only during the first months of the Aquino government. "It's but natural for me to try to put in government people who I asked to help during the (presidential) campaign." Despite the future President's declaration during that campaign that she would owe her victory only to the Filipino people, Cojuangco, the veteran politician in the family ("My sister is no politician, she doesn't know these things. . ."), apparently believed otherwise. He adds: "Cory had limited time, she was too busy making speeches. It was my task to go to key people and talk them into joining the fight against Marcos."

These days, Cojuangco "can't get out of it even if I wanted to" People asking for favors "keep coming to me and I try to get what they're asking for," he says. "Sometimes, I get it, sometimes I don't."

Such favors for those who helped in the campaign clearly included getting business concessions as well. Cojuangco quickly qualified the favors given as mere "assistance to get business concessions," seeking to quash questions that have been raised about his financial interest in these concessions. Asked for examples of such concessions, he says after a long pause: "You could say that the arrastre (cargo-handling operations) is one." But he points out that "these people are well-off on their own. . . they didn't go in with empty pockets."

Among those who helped in the campaign, says Cojuangco, is formerly US-based physician Elpidio Osteria, who "supported the anti-Marcos cause even before the campaign."

After the Revolution, "everyone was looking at the GSIS, PNB. . .," Cojuangco says of that euphoric period. But he saw the need to "cut off loyalist funding" from key concessions and franchises previously cornered by Marcos cronies. "One big area here is the casinos."

Cojuangco believes that casino funds, or funds generated from a revived jai-alai or the legalization of other number games for that matter, should go to the government. "On what basis should any one person get a percentage when the government needs all the funds it can get?"

Last December, it was widely known that then Philippine Amusement and Games Corp. (PAGCOR) chairman Norberto Quisumbing, a Cebuano businessman, quietly resigned from his post because of sharp differences with other members of the five-man board over policy and in the grant of contracts. Shortly after, ostensibly because of a nightclub slapping incident involving a member of that board, President Aquino sacked the entire PAGCOR board and placed Alice Ll. Reyes, lately of the Development Bank of the Philippines, on top of a new board.

Since Mrs. Aquino promptly appointed Quisumbing to head PAGCOR Foundation, which is authorized to look over the PAGCOR books, observers believed that the real targets of the ouster were the three board members (Ambet Antonio, Tarzan Lazatin, and Magno Abrigo) who were identified with Cojuangco.

In the interview, Cojuangco professed sadness over the way "the three people I put there (PAGCOR)" were treated. "It was unfair," he said. "It could have been done in a nicer way."

Having prevailed over past criticisms, notably by Archbishop of Manila Cardinal Jaime L. Sin, about the allegedly questionable morality of his government controlled gambling scheme, Cojuangco is now lobbying for the revival of the jai-alai.

Late last year, the PCGG staged a trial jai-alai run, reportedly raking in millions of pesos. The minority holders of the sequestered stock of the

Romualdez-controlled Philippine Jai-Alai and Amusement Corp. are complaining that they weren't told about it. Cojuangco says "maybe it (the money) went to the stockholders . . . I don't know, that was a PCGG thing." A PCGG source says the money went to PAGCOR Foundation, which gets a share of PAGCOR income, but it could not be reached for comment.

Last September, the *Philippine Tribune* and the *Evening Post*, both oppositionist publications, ran a series of exposés, based largely on intelligence provided by certain military officers, describing the arming and training of a Yellow Army in the Cojuangco-owned Hacienda Luisita in Tarlac.

Highly reliable military sources reveal that during the volatile period after the February Revolt, "certain people" could bring arms into the country. One was Col. Gregorio Honasan, security aide of then Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile. Among others were agents acting for Cojuangco, military sources said. "Gringo," however, can no longer do it these days. But an assessment of reports received of purchase of arms in the US as well as local field reports shows that "Cojuangco is still doing it."

The President's brother waves away the question about a Yellow Army being trained by foreign allies or mercenaries. The only time there was any training in Hacienda Luisita was when Mrs. Aquino's personal security men during the campaign was absorbed by the Presidential Security Group. And the only time, according to Cojuangco, foreigners came into the picture was when the US Secret Service sent people over to brief the PSG for Mrs. Aquino's trip to the US in September.

THE Opposition has not spared Cojuangco's wife Tingting, who has been dragged unceremoniously into the limelight to face the week's headlines about allegedly missing jewelry, possible siphoning of government funds to a Muslim secessionist faction and a giggly conversation (on a wire-tapped phone) with a US embassy official about Philippine government affairs.

The exposés, staged in the tradition of the riotous pre-martial law election campaigns, were sponsored by Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD) senatorial candidates Rene Espina and Homobono Adaza. Whether or not Espina will be sued for libel and Adaza charged with violation of the anti-wiretapping law still remains to

In any case, Ms. Cojuangco has publicly scorned the value of the Imelda jewels, saying she would not stoop to touch what she called "junk." She has also questioned the integrity of both Adaza and the tapes he has sprung on the public.

Ms. Cojuangco's interest in Mindanao affairs appears to have started when research for a masteral thesis in history took her to the South. She was desk officer of the PDP-Laban for Central Luzon and Western Mindanao during the presidential campaign. She has revealed that it was during this period that she established links with the Mindanao Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), known in the context of ongoing peace talks with secessionist leaders as the Hashim Salamat faction.

Ms. Cojuangco appears to share with her husband the problem of providing a listening ear to numerous people seeking help or favors. "The people in Mindanao keep going to her," Cojuangco says of his wife's role in the South.

A more unsavory role attributed to Ms. Cojuangco is what a veteran Mindanao politician describes as an "open secret" in Mindanao: her alleged control of barter trade relations in Zamboanga.

Palace advisers reveal that Tingting Cojuangco became "involved" in appointments to the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) which, by virtue of an executive order, took over the administration of the barter trade operations from the Southern Command (Southcom) after the Revolution.

Last February 18, an inter-agency task force, created two days before by Finance Secretary Jaime Ongpin and composed of the bureaus of customs and internal revenue, Central Bank, and the departments of trade and finance, established that ever since the SPDA takeover, the barter trade operations had become "unmanageable."

Regulative guidelines will have to arrest the negative effects of certain developments in barter trade. Barter zones in Zamboanga have increased from one to four. Barter zones have also been established in Tawi-Tawi, in Basilan, Cotabato, and Davao. Much to the dismay of customs officials, some traders are not selling their goods in the barter zones but are taking them directly to Cebu, Ililo or Manila.

The old barter traders are complaining that they've been "eased out." To the dismay of this time of trade officials, the goods-in-exchange-for-goods concept of barter has given way to lopsided trade wherein hull ships carrying out P100,000 worth of goods come back bringing in cargo worth over P50 million. And since barter ships now bring in goods direct from Singapore, it was learned that officials in neighboring Borneo island, the traditional trading partner, have raised the possibility of taking the matter up formally with the Philippine government.

A task force member, however, did not discount the possibility that the aggressiveness of the traders themselves, acting mostly on their own or by unwarranted name-dropping, caused the "boom" in barter trade operations.

Meanwhile, Adaza and Espina have approached their roles as the Opposition's "hitmen" with the relish and bravura of senators-elect already enjoying immunity from the legal implications of their "privileged speeches."

Adaza has accused the Aquino government of "a high degree of incompetence and amateurism as well as a lack of unity." Indeed, if the Adaza tapes are authentic, it would seem that in-Palace wranglings are not confined among the Aquino ministers but prosper even between the President's two sets of in-laws.

Not even Mrs. Aquino's bitterest critics in the Opposition dare to attack her "Mrs. Clean" image, however. Still, if the Opposition is to succeed at all, it has to disprove Mrs. Aquino's rather startling campaign slogan: "I do not need an Opposition in Congress . . . we can fiscalize ourselves."

There are indications that various agencies of the Cory government have quietly initiated "damage limitation" moves. In addition to the task force on barter trade, Constabulary Chief Maj. Renato de Villa has warned in a letter to President Aquino that the involvement of some 100 officers-in-charge, 74 of them in her home region, in illegal gambling operations "will erode the moral image projected over the past year by the present administration."

In the same letter, dated February 11, De Villa described in black-and-white the reason illegal gambling continues to thrive in Central Luzon (*Veritas*, September 25, Cagayan Valley and in the other regions. "Many local executives have arrogated unto themselves the authority to allow illegal gambling operations in their respective areas either for personal gain or as part of the preparations for the coming elections.

PC-INP field reports have established the towns and cities where OICs are involved either as protectors or maintainers of *jueteng* and *monete*. In Central Luzon: Bataan, nine; Bulacan, 12; Nueva Ecija, 15; Pampanga, 19; Tarlac, 13; and Zambales, six. In Cagayan Valley: Cagayan, nine; Isabela, 10; and Nueva Vizcaya, five. One OIC in Pampanga was described as a "capitalist financier" of *jueteng*. Another in Zambales was reportedly a maintainer and protector of *jueteng*, *sakla*, and *hi-lo*.

De Villa stressed that since "some OICs even have the temerity of dropping the names of prominent political figures as their backers," there is need for Mrs. Aquino to come out with a "clear policy statement" so that law enforcers can go after the perpetrators "without fear or favor."

Cojuangco, in the interview, says of the PDP-Laban: "The party is very cheap to run, . . . because we have area autonomy . . . and (because) there's a lot of pressure there against traditional politics." He concedes, however, that the prospect of running against Marcos money in the coming elections has raised questions among party leaders "if we should close our eyes a bit" about party funding.

Cojuangco likewise does not discount the possibility that, in a highly personal and family-oriented society, his or his wife's name is used by people to wangle the government bureaucracy's cooperation or at least toleration of their illegal activities.

His answer to inquiries, he says, has always been: "When I need something from you, I'll call you myself."

Other Peping Interests

Quezon City VERITAS in English 25 Mar 87 p 13

[Article by James Glad: "From 'Kokoy' To 'Bekoy'?"]

[Text] IN AN interview, President Corazon Aquino's younger brother Jose "Peping" Cojuangco said he has helped friends to enter the "arrastre" (port services) business. It has been an open secret in Manila that, after the change of government last year, changes in this portside monopoly also occurred swiftly.

Associates of "Kokoy" Romualdez (brother of Imelda Romualdez Marcos) moved after 1980 into cargo-moving at Manila's north and south harbors. But their Ocean Terminal Services Inc. (OTSI) together with subsidiaries Metro-port Services Inc. (MPSI) and Manila International Container Port Terminals Inc. (MIPTI) sailed into rough waters after Aquino came to power.

First, the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) sequestered these companies in April. Then both MIPTI and MPSI lost their monopolies to two firms formed after February 1986. Marina Port Services Inc. (which also uses the initials "MPSI") took over the south harbor business while Metrostar Inc. on 20 July won the sole government contract for container handling operations in the north harbor.

A change was certainly overdue. Various documents show the Philippine Port Authority (PPA - the 13-year-old public agency with overall responsibility for the country's ports) receiving many complaints about the Romualdez-linked operation, even during Marcos' time. On April 1 last year Port of Manila manager Eduardo Santos wrote PPA general manager Primitivo Solis itemizing MIPTI's and MIPTI's failure to pay large

sums due the government. Both companies also failed to maintain equipment, causing costly delays.

But when PPA decided to change things, it moved with extraordinary speed. On July 18 Solis sent another of several PPA notices to MIPTI re-citing violations of its cargo-handling agreement. The very next day an executive order from President Corazon Aquino cancelled MIPTI's contract. And one day later, on July 20, the PPA gave the entire container-moving business to Metrostar, a company registered two months earlier with \$50,000 capital paid in by Cojuangco associates (including newly appointed Sorsogon provincial governor Elizalde Diaz).

Aquino's order revoked MIPTI's franchise but said nothing about transferring the business to Metrostar; nonetheless the PPA does not have the competence or staff to do the job itself and some contracting-out seemed inevitable. But questions promptly surfaced about the propriety of Metrostar's winning the franchise: no public tenders were called to bid for the business.

Nor did Metrostar board members show extensive container port experience. And eyebrows have also climbed another notch or two after it became apparent that Metrostar would be using MIPTI's cargo-moving equipment, sequestered also by the PCGG. MIPTI's men say their straddle carriers, forklifts and other gear are worth at least P100 million (\$5.5 million).

PPA's Solis counters that he has a harbor to run. All that has happened is perfectly legal, he said in an interview. MIPTI received repeated PPA notices of violation. It also refused to be audited by the government. PPA claims it took over MIPTI's operation after transportation and communication secretary Hernando Perez asked Aquino to revoke MIPTI's franchise. The Authority's "memorandum of agreement" with MIPTI explicitly provided for "take-over" of the business if the agreement was violated, and clauses also allowed the "use of contractor's equipment," provided for its purchase or "reasonable rentals."

Solis claimed rental for use of MIPTI equipment is being paid into a holding account, pending resolution of PCGG sequestration. (By March 18 not one PCGG sequestration had yet been determined by the courts, as promised in Aquino's executive orders defining the reach of the crony-hunting commission.) But Solis would not divulge how much rent had been paid.

The legality of PPA's franchising seems unquestionable – if one relies upon former president Ferdinand Marcos' "Letter of Instruction" #1005-#1005 of April 11, 1980 giving PPA the power to evaluate cargo-handlers "under such criteria as PPA may set." A Marcos-appointed Supreme Court ruled in 1983 that the instruction means the PPA, in effect, has monopoly-granting powers.

Despite the legalities (and quite apart) from the squabbling between the "ins" and the "outs") deeper, still unanswered questions of policy and business propriety remain unanswered in the Cojuangco-orchestrated switch of arrastre business. Before 1980 23 contractors offered stevedoring services. One of them challenged the OSTI monopoly, leading to the 1983 Court decision refusing relief. (Only) Claudio Teehankee, the current Chief Justice, dissented from an opinion speaking of favorable "economics of scale" and better "collection and accounting of the government's share of revenues" from the monopoly.)

But should the monopoly continue at all? The February 1986 opposition led by Aquino promised a frontal assault on monopolistic cronyism, but the quick switch of arrastre business seems a move in the other direction, no matter how much more revenue now reaches government coffers. (34 pr cent of the south harbor and 20 per cent of north harbor

arrastre revenue is supposed to be paid to the government.) Solis worked for the PPA when it moved into the monopoly arrangement; but quit in a row with the former armed forces chief of staff Gen. Fabian Ver. Then a Navy commander, he has now returned as a full captain to run the PPA, running once again also an arrangement resembling the one he has displaced.

Growth of Cojuangco businesses

Quezon City VERITAS in English 19-25 Mar 87 pp 19-20

[Article by Jose Galang]

[Text]

BUSINESS acumen is not a rare trait in the Cojuangco family. The first Jose Cojuangco, an immigrant from Fookien, started as a building contractor in Manila in 1861 and moved to Tarlac in the mid-1890s where he invested earlier earnings in rice and sugar lands. He was also, according to written accounts, a money lender.

Corazon Cojuangco Aquino and Jose "Peping" Cojuangco Jr. are the fifth and sixth of seven children of Jose Cojuangco Sr., the eldest of four sons of the Fookien immigrant's only son, Melecio. The first Jose Cojuangco had two daughters, Ysidra and Trinidad.

Then and now, rumors have not been kind to the Cojuangcos. Melecio's marriage to a wealthy Chinese mestiza, rather than his own skills, was cited as a big factor to his business expansion. Melecio went into politics and won a seat in the 1907 Philippine Assembly. He died two years later and Ysidra took over the family businesses.

A research study on "Philippine Industrialization, Foreign and Domestic Capital" by Yoshihara Kunio (published by the Ateneo de Manila University Press and Oxford University Press) cites rumors about Ysidra's alleged affairs with Gen. Antonio Luna and Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, leaders of the Philippine revolution against Spanish rule in the country, which favored the Cojuangco business interests. Luna was rumored to have left Ysidra "a large amount of gold" for her safekeeping while the general fled to the north during the revolution. Luna was subsequently killed. The stories "may be pure fabrications," the study says, "but their existence shows that people wondered why Ysidra never married and how she managed to build such a large fortune."

The family business today remains largely rooted to the sugar industry. Central Azucarera de Tarlac, a sugar mill with a rated capacity of 7,080 tons of cane a day, was bought by the Cojuangcos from the Spanish firm La Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas, or commonly known as Tabacalera, in 1958. It was also from the same company that the family acquired Hacienda Luisita much earlier. The Tarlac sugar mill accounted for 4.2 per cent of the total Philippine raw-sugar production of 2.66 million tons in the period 1974-83.

Hacienda Luisita has a total area of 6,500 hectares, of which the arable portion is 5,000 hectares. The Cojuangco family's Tarlac Development Co. manages the plantation which produces cane for Central Azucarera de Tarlac. According to the company's 1981 records with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Tarlac Development owned about 40 per cent of the sugar mill, with the rest distributed among various members of the Cojuangco family. The religious group Corp. de Padres Recoletos was listed

as owner of 2.2 per cent of shares outstanding. By 1984, the list of shareholders included a few names with residences in Spain, Switzerland, Argentina, and the US.

Tarlac Development also owns 75 per cent of Tarlac Distillery, whose capacity of 40,000 liters of alcohol a day is the second largest in the country. The distillery, in turn, is listed as owner of 95 per cent of the group's marketing unit, Luisita Marketing Corp., set up in 1964 mainly for the sugar mill's exports of refined sugar. It had since added carbon dioxide to its line.

Jose Cojuangco & Sons Inc., established in 1964, manages the family enterprises for a fee. Monthly management fees collected from the Cojuangco companies, as culled from various company reports, include: P185,660 from Central Azucarera de Tarlac, P129,800 from Tarlac Development, and P37,500 from Luisita Marketing. An additional fee equivalent to "a certain percentage" of the various units' net profits is also collected.

Until she assumed the presidency in February 1986, Aquino on her own held, according to corporate records, 6.25 per cent of Tarlac Development, 0.04 per cent of Central Azucarera de Tarlac, 1.56 per cent of Tarlac Distillery, 0.3 per cent of Luisita Marketing, and 6.25 per cent of Jose Cojuangco & Sons. She was also officer in some of the companies. Philippine law prohibits key government officials from holding interests in private business.

Jose "Peping" Cojuangco bewails that since his sister became president the family's business empire had stopped growing — no new investments had been made owing to possible suspicions or criticisms. Nor has the group made any attempt even to "recover what we lost," according to Cojuangco, during the administration of former president Ferdinand Marcos.

He did not specify what was "lost" or to whom. One strategic enterprise that was jointly owned by a wide base in the clan was the Tarlac-based First United Bank (FUB). In 1975, Marcos decreed the establishment of a bank to handle the financing needs for the development of the coconut industry. Eduardo "Danding" Cojuangco, a cousin of "Peping" and one of the so-called "cronies" of Marcos, assumed control of the bank (later renamed United Coconut Planters Bank) with the use of a fund collected from coconut farmers. Sources say that was the last major business undertaking that was shared by the most number from the Cojuangco family — after the break-up of FUB, "Danding" cultivated further relations with Marcos and in 1984 capped his business expansion by gaining control of industrial giant San Miguel Corp., "Peping" concentrated on the sugar-related activities, and Ramon Cojuangco, another cousin, devoted his energy to the communications leader, Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co., which was acquired from its US original owners by a Filipino group that Ramon Cojuangco led.

Another Cojuangco enterprise crippled during the Marcos years was Luisita Marketing. After the creation of a sugar-trading monopoly, National Sugar Trading Co. under the control of so-called crony Roberto Benedicto, Luisita Marketing had to confine its activities to marketing sugar by-products like molasses and alcohol in the domestic market. After a few years, however, the local sugar trade was again opened to private firms. Also by carrying other products, Luisita Marketing expanded sales from P42.57 million in 1975 to P80.78 million in 1984.

In recent months, "Peping" Cojuangco has been rumored to have gained control of cargo-handling business at the Manila International Port and casino operations. Cojuangco denies any personal involvement in these

activities, though he admits that some of his friends and business associates had been given sensitive positions through his recommendations. Cojuangco insists that the government, not any business firm, benefits under the new system, which is also designed at cutting off financing flows to political rivals, particularly the Marcos group which is rumored to be still behind destabilization efforts against the Aquino administration.

Public Works Example

Quezon City *VERITAS* in English 19-25 Mar 87 p 20

[Article by Ms. Luz Yap Baguigoro: "Making Everybody Happy"]

[Text]

 No proof that graft and corruption in government has taken root in Philippine society is the casual attitude of most Filipinos.

So a neighbor can afford to change cars every year? "Ahh him? He's a customs examiner." So an uncle just built a mansion in Corinthian Gardens? "Well what can you expect, he's a BIR examiner." So the former President fled the country and brought suitcases filled with dollars? "Ten billion pesos? Such a large amount! Wasn't he happy with just a few million?"

Among the government agencies notorious for their money-making potentials (for employees), one of the better-known is the Department of Public Works and Highways, whose former head was asked to resign for "suspicious" conduct, and to which President Aquino has appointed a man so religious and above-board veteran observers have begun to pity him for the company he has been forced to keep.

Among the types Secretary Vicente Jayme must live with is a growing number of unbelievably wealthy government engineers.

One of their colleagues, a public works engineer, recently outlined for *Veritas* the different ways some of his fellow engineers manage to build fortunes despite their modest salaries.

His account also provides insights into why getting employed as an accountant or an auditor in the DPWH is a highly-coveted privilege.

The engineer's tale is rife with maneuvers, involving million-peso kickbacks, conducted by the supervising engineer (SE), the supplier, the accountant, the auditor, and the district engi-

neer (DE). The five frequently work closely together to promote their "business." And the participation of the accountant and auditor (who are supposed to enforce a sense of public accountability) in the "fraternity of crooks" often makes purges, no matter how frequent or sweeping, ineffective.

The account does not even touch on the many other ways devised for stealing from the government, like payroll padding, ghost projects, etc.

Government authorities, the *Veritas* source advised, should probe deeper into such anomalies because conniving personalities in the DPWH could very well secretly work against investigators.

Graft and corruption is not confined to the Public Works Department, true. And it is just as true that not *all* engineers, not *all* accountants and auditors in the Department are involved in shady and anomalous deals. These honest employees, then, should be the first to welcome any probe, for it would clear their and their department's name. Just as the public should raise a hue and cry over the engineers' fortune-building activities. After all, it is *their* money that lines the pockets of these corrupt few.

Graft and corruption, adds our source, is a problem that needs to be grasped at the roots. "It will not be enough to stop its nourishment. It has to be uprooted."

Public Works Corruption Scenario

Quezon City VERITAS in English 19-25 Mar 87 p 21

[Text]

CAST OF CHARACTERS

S.E.

He is younger by a decade or two than the DE and poorer by a few millions.

Supplier -

He was awarded the construction supply contract because of his willingness to play the game.

Accountant -

Her job is to keep records of accounts and transactions as false as possible.

Auditor -

He sees, speaks and hears no evil as long as he gets a fair share of the booty.

D.E. -

The great sums he has amassed through the years enable him to own a mansion and have more than enough working capital to start his own business.

CONCEIVING THE PLAN

S.E./D.E. -

The SE submits a project proposal to the DE. The report details the true estimated cost of the project in terms of labor and construction materials. The DE accepts the proposal but before submitting it to higher authorities for consideration, he multiplies the number of materials needed and their prices to accommodate his fellow crooks.

OVERESTIMATING NEEDED MATERIALS

Auditor, Supplier, Accountant -

The SE orders 800 bags of cement, even if the project demands only 300 bags. The supplier sends only the needed number but charges the government for the price of 800 cement bags. The accountant and the auditor just watch approvingly in the wings.

OVERPRICING

Supplier/Auditor/Accountant -

The supplier gives "special" (read: exorbitant) prices for his goods. For example, he sells a bag of cement at a price four times greater than its true market price. The accountant and the auditor are tasked to look out for such irregular pricing but, as a general rule, a crook turns in fellow crooks only when he feels he's not given an equal share.

ADULTERATING MATERIALS

Supplier/Chem. eng'r.

To further ensure that the supplier gives the people their money's worth, the government employs a chemical engineer to check that such materials as paint are not adulterated (by dilution). Sometimes, however, even this quality control person is one of the "bad guys."

STEALING CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENTS

S.E./Prop. Custodian/Accountant/Auditor -

Crowbars, spades, road drillers and other light tools that can be hidden in a sack or a tote bag "normally" get lost. Size, however, is no deterrent to the urge to steal. One engineer from Western Visayas has an old but still serviceable steam roller hidden in his garage, the same one he reported missing about two years ago. He erased traces of the equipment's serial number and plans to sell it to the government one of these days.

STEALING GOVERNMENT-PAID GASOLINE

Still not content with the money he gets from jacking up prices and supply needs, the SE or the DE would siphon government-paid gasoline to personally-owned vehicles. In that light, one may classify the transport business of one engineer from Western Visayas as "semi-government."

DIVIDING THE SPOILS

Is everybody happy??

PHILIPPINES

AQUINO SAID TO COME TO TERMS WITH 'POLITICAL REALITY'

HK101319 Manila THE MANILA CHRONICLE in English 10 Apr 87 pp 1, 7

[*"Analysis"* column by Editor-in-chief Amando Doronila: "Cory Comes to Terms With Political Reality"]

[Text] As de facto leader of her coalition, President Aquino has come to terms with political reality in the current electoral campaign.

The most significant manifestations of this pragmatism are that (1) the government coalition, Lakas ng Bayan [Laban--People's Power], has accepted as its congressional candidates former KBL politicians who are seen to be popular; and (2) there is a dramatic shift in tactics from emphasis on issues towards capitalizing on the charisma of the president.

Gone are the earlier protestations that the style of the campaign would be dominated by issues and that the government was weaning the electorate away from the baneful personalistic and patronage politics of bygone years.

The shift in tactics became more marked in recent days, and the reason for the switch is that poll surveys commissioned by the government indicate that candidates of cause-oriented groups--which emphasize issues--are in trouble, both on the senatorial and congressional levels.

Another significant finding is that President Aquino's acceptance has risen from 72 percent in February to 76 percent in late March. This suggests that the president is still riding on the wave of the plebiscite mandate.

This finding has caused government coalition strategists to put more emphasis on the theme of identifying the senatorial, as well as the congressional, candidates with Mrs Aquino. The hope is that her continuing popularity will carry them on her coattails. Thus, also the label "Aquino" is now being attached to each of the senatorial teams to suggest that they are her candidates. Also, the theme of the president's campaign speeches is that "they are my candidates."

In recognition of this popularity and in response to the government coalition's strategy, the opposition Grand Alliance for Democracy [GAD] and its satellite parties are directing their fire on the issue of alleged corruption and dynastic tendencies of the Aquino and Cojuangco families, hoping that these could damage the president's own moral authority--one of her most precious political assets.

The tactics of emphasizing issues are now left mainly in the hands of the Partido ng Bayan and the Bayan. The outcome of the elections will therefore determine whether their "new politics" based on issues rather than patronage pay-offs is ready to take off.

The pragmatism of the government coalition is highlighted by the induction of former KBL politicians into the coalition's ticket, on the grounds that there are "good KBLs"--read, those who are seen as winners. The logic is that those who can't win are "bad" KBLs. The imperative is that the government must have the numbers in the next House of Representatives, and this must be secured by any means, except fraud and coercion.

Although the distribution of patronage is not as blatant and widespread as in previous elections, still traditional electioneering has come into play. For example, the raising of the salaries of civil servants is a form of patronage, even if the law says they are entitled to and deserve the raises.

The party switching--or turncoatism--is not surprising. It is a function of that fact that since the political groups within the government coalition, as well as those within GAD, have no clearly defined ideological policies, then there is nothing that can cement members to any group. Party formation is in a state of flux. It therefore follows that party membership is very much transient. Migration of party members is expected to continue until the party formation takes ideological definition.

The problem about winning a majority in both houses of congress through a lift on Mrs Aquino's coattails is that it retards the formation of a multi-party system in which the principles of party discipline, responsibility and accountability can be enforced.

Mrs Aquino is merely a transition figure in the process of moving away from dictatorship to representative democracy. But her popularity is evanescent. Majorities based on her popularity would evaporate without ever leaving the strong institutional foundations of a party system as soon as that popularity declines.

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CSO: 4200/494

CENTRAL BANK OUSTS SENATE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE FROM BANK

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 Apr 87 pp 1, 6

[Text]

The Central Bank yesterday said Vicente Puyat, a senatorial candidate of the opposition Grand Alliance for Democracy, was removed from his twin posts in the family-owned Manila Banking Corp. because of his failure to pay his debts on time, and not because of political reasons.

Puyat the other day said he was removed from his posts as president and director by the Manila bank board of directors upon the instigation of Central Bank Gov. Jose Fernandez and Finance Secretary Jaime Ongpin after he criticized the just-concluded debt rescheduling agreement with the country's foreign creditors.

The Central Bank said that under its manual of regulations for banks and other financial intermediaries, directors and officers of a bank are deemed disqualified from holding their positions when at least two of their financial obligations in other banks under different credit lines or loan contracts are past due for at least 30 days.

A spokesman of Puyat told Malaya yesterday the banker-businessman "respects" the Central Bank position but he will work to regain his place in the bank.

The spokesman said Puyat received the notice of the CB action only the other day, raising suspicions that his removal was politi-

ally motivated.

Following the CB declaration that Puyat was no longer eligible to run Manilabank, the board of directors decided on Tuesday to change him with his first cousin, Consuelo "Baby" Puyat-Reyes, who is President Aquino's hand-picked candidate for the congressional race in Makati.

The CB said that as early as Sept. 18 last year, when there was at the time no indication whatsoever of Puyat's political sympathies or plans, he was notified that the non-payment of his past due loans with other banks is a ground for his disqualification.

The Central Bank said the Monetary Board, however, decided to give him 30 days to settle his obligations otherwise, he would be deemed disqualified as president and director of Manila bank.

The 30-day period expired on Oct. 18, 1986, but it was extended to Dec. 31 after Puyat said he would take steps to remove the disqualification by the end of 1986. This has not happened, the Central Bank said.

After the expiration of the extensions, the CB said it further delayed the disqualification process to give Puyat an additional grace period to settle his obligation.

It was a simple case of enforcing rules governing banks, the CB said.

/12828

CSO: 4200/499

MUSLIM FEDERATION SUPPORTS PNB CANDIDATES

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 4 Apr 87 p 7

[Article by Henry A. Piosca]

[Text]

DAVAO CITY — The Bangsa Moro Movement for New Politics, a Mindanao-wide federation of 16 Moro organizations, has expressed support to the senatorial and congressional candidates of Partido ng Bayan.

The multi-ethnic movement distributed Monday a press statement, a copy of which was furnished the Media-Mindanao News Service, citing the need for nationalist legislators in the government.

Signed by a certain Ibrahim Abdulrahman, the statement said the PnB platform of nationalist politics has been welcomed by the Bangsa Moro people of Mindanao.

The statement also said the movement will also opt for selective support to a few candidates of the administration's coal-

tion of senatorial bets. The statement did not, however, specify its choices among President Aquino's candidates.

The Moro movement based here also welcomed the candidacy of human rights lawyers Larry Ilagan and Proculo "Boy" Fuentes as the official candidates of PnB in the first and second congressional districts, respectively.

"It is about time we give ourselves the chance to participate in the coming electoral exercise by supporting the candidacy of Ilagan and Fuentes in their respective districts as our representatives to the Congress," the statement read.

PnB senatorial candidates are expected to arrive here next week.

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PHILIPPINES

DAILY ANALYZES ELECTION, POLITICAL SPECTRUM

HK161505 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 15 Apr 87 p 5

[**"News Analysis"** column by Bobby Tuazon of Philippine News and Features:
"The May 11 Polls and the Political Spectrum"]

[Text] The Philippine congressional elections this May are a means for the Aquino leadership to further legitimize its rule, legalize its government programs, and neutralize ultra-right efforts at destabilization. Right-wing "opposition" groups under old and new labels are, however, involved in these elections too, to recover their power through congress. Cause-oriented organizations are also participating in the elections to introduce "new politics" and apparently to recover from setbacks suffered as a result of their boycott stance in the 1986 presidential elections.

An overview of the various political forces now in the electoral arena offers us a mosaic of their social bases, tendencies and platforms. Although this picture does not necessarily reflect the real intents and purposes of these forces in participating in the elections, it nevertheless shows the extent to which the elections have caused political groups to coalesce, to fragment or to divide. It also indicates how elections are perceived not only as a means to political ascendancy, but also as a means to effect social change, or as part of long-term political goals. The electoral struggle, in short, also reflects the range of options being offered to the public by the political groups now in contention in the Philippines.

Under the 1986 Constitution, the multiparty system is supposed to enable political parties of various persuasions to participate in electoral and other political processes. The system would depart from the unrepresentative two-party system in which only two elite parties took turns governing the country.

On the surface, the multiparty system seems to have indeed materialized, given the proliferation of several big and small political parties--not to mention sectoral groups--in the current election campaign. But only two coalitions tend to be the real protagonists, with the other parties turning into peripheral participants.

Dominating the present campaign is the administration's Lakas ng Bayan (Laban--People's Power) Coalition. Laban is composed of PDP-Laban, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO), the National Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD), the social-democratic Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (PDSP), Bandila [Bayan Nagakaisa sa Diwa at Layunin--National United in Spirit and Purpose] (an alliance of "moderate" cause-oriented groups), and other Aquino-supportive groups.

Next to Laban are the opposition Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD), led by former Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, and the Union for Peace and Progress-kilusang Bagong Lipunan (UPP-KBL), the latter being the once-dominant party during the Marcos regime. Many of the senatorial and congressional candidates of GAD and UPP-KBL were once identified with the deposed president--as were some of the Laban candidates themselves, however.

There appears to be no significant differences between the administration and opposition slates in the senatorial and congressional contests in terms of the candidates' social origins and platforms. Most of the Laban candidates belong to the traditional elite. Some lost their power upon the imposition of martial law in 1972, while others supported the Marcos regime for a time.

It is old faces, many of them Marcos supporters, who compose the so-called "powerhouse" slates of both GAD and KBL. But it is the latter's candidates who are most vividly associated with the past regime.

Being in power gives the administration coalition an edge over the opposition. But the resources and machinery of the opposition, still intact in the provinces, have tended to even the struggle. The dominant presence of traditional politicians, the brokers role of President Aquino and other bigwigs in both the administration and opposition slates (senatorial and congressional) are reminiscent of the same horse-trading and back-room bargaining characteristic of past elections. So is the apparent decisiveness that abundant resources and a well-oiled machinery are likely to play on election day.

The administration differs from the traditional groups only through the presence of a handful of progressive liberals in both its senatorial and congressional slates. But instead of making definite commitments on such issues as land reform, the U.S. bases and industrialization, Laban has drawn up extremely general plans perhaps the better to cover up basic differences, given the eclectic composition of the Aquino ticket.

However, it is on the U.S. bases issue that some Aquino candidates differ from their opponents. The former want the bases' future decided [words indistinct] through a referendum, while the latter want to retain the bases beyond that period.

What makes the traditional somewhat non-traditional, however, is the participation of the Alliance for New Politics (ANP) and of "moderate" groups identified with the Aquino leadership. This is the first time that a coalition--the ANP, composed of Partido ng Bayan (PNB--People's Party), Bagong Alyansang

Makabayan (Bayan--New Nationalist Federation) and Volunteers for Popular Democracy (VPD)--is relying on its organized grassroots base (more than two million) rather than on logistics and machinery. ANP says its "guts, goals and grassroots" will work against the money, pollwatchers, machinery, and even private armies of both administration and traditional opposition candidates.

Because of its organizational and multisectoral base, ANP is the only election player which represents the farmers and workers and other deprived sectors of Philippine society.

ANP has been called "left" because its seven senatorial candidates were once either with the clandestine National Democratic Front, the New People's Army, or are still with radical labor and peasant groups. Against the "reformist" planks of both Laban and the opposition parties, ANP also vows to radically restructure Philippine society. Its platform advocates free distribution of land to peasants, national industrialization, the dismantling of U.S. military bases by 1991, and the recognition of the right to self-determination of, and the granting of genuine regional autonomy to the Moro and Cordillera peoples. ANP's platform is based on a popular desire for change as was apparent during the 1986 uprising which deposed Ferdinand Marcos. Sure about government's ambivalence in effecting real reform, the alliance and its supporters hope to transform popular demands into a revolutionary parliamentary agenda.

The 11 May elections thus include a variety of political thoughts, ranging from conservatism to ultra-right extremism, "centrism" to liberal democracy and national democracy. The traditional politicos who have formed tactical alliances out of expediency, including most of those in the administration coalition, are united on the issue of "anti-communism," however. Many Laban candidates want to project themselves as "centrist", but their association with the Aquino leadership, which claims to be committed to reform but wages "total war" against revolutionary forces, places them squarely in the right, as opposed to the non-traditional ANP whose platform of radical change and constituency are precisely at odds with both the traditional elite as well as its historic opposition to change.

It is too early to predict the election outcome, much less the final distribution of senatorial and congressional seats among the groups now campaigning. Many Filipinos agree, however, that if traditional weapons will still be decisive, Congress is likely to be shared by both administration and opposition parties, with the former chalking up more seats. With honest-to-goodness, clean elections--and if it can translate its grassroots support into votes--the ANP could capture some seats, especially in the lower houses. (National surveys by the administration reveal that at least four ANP senatorial bets can win, while the alliance itself claims it can get 30 to 40 percent of all congressional seats.)

The entry of progressive liberals and the ANP into the electoral arena has been welcomed by many Filipinos. Political scientists concede that the Filipino voter has become more receptive to the "new politics" of the ANP. Considering that 90 percent of the electorate are new voters, issue-oriented politics and radical ideas may indeed have a broad audience.

On the other hand, the elections have also spawned rifts among the traditional elite. The jockeying for political power has tended to make more difficult unity among the elite in resisting the "inroads of the left," thereby defeating the alleged intent of the U.S. to unite the elite and the "middle forces" against the left.

The question is will all these lead to further instability? Will the left succeed in participating in political progresses to an extent that will make the parliamentary road a valid route to the realization of its political agenda? Or will it be, despite the sound and fury, back to the same thing when the dust clears after 11 May?

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PKP STATEMENT HITS U.S. 'MASTER PLAN' IN ELECTIONS

Quezon City ANG PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 12 Apr 87 p 7

["Paid advertisement" by the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) Central Committee: "Partido Komunista Ng Pilipinas Komite Sentral"--"Anti-Communism, Elections and the US Bases"]

[Text]

The pattern is clear: the forces of imperialism and reaction are resurrecting the red bogey as part of a master plan to use the right against the left, ensure the overwhelming triumph of conservative and pro-American candidates this coming elections, and assure the retention of US bases in the Philippines.

The pieces are falling into place, with definite made-in-America markings. US Army Gen. John Singlaub, reportedly head of the United States Council for World Freedom, ranking leader of the World Anti-Communist League, and organizer of the Nicaraguan Contras for the U.S. National Security Council, has made several visits to the Philippines, has talked to important personalities in and out of the Aquino administration, and has solicited assistance from right-wing sectors of the Philippine elite. Causa International, the political arm of the Moonies' Unification Church, is busy holding seminars on "Godism" as the ideological framework for the struggle against communism. (Causa has retired American generals on its board, was identified with military dictatorships in Latin America, and due to its bountiful funds, suspected of being a CIA front). Religious fundamentalists and televangelists belonging to the American new Right have sprouted to conduct aggressive crusades against communism which they equate with "Satanism."

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and US officials themselves are directly and actively intervening in the handling of the insurgency, and deliberately fanning the anti-communist hysteria. Newsweek magazine reported a multi-million dollar CIA operation against Philippine rebels authorized by President Reagan and allegedly approved by President Aquino. The recent report in the San Francisco Examiner of a \$10 million budget for CIA covert operations in the Philippines will have far-reaching effects on the political situation in relation to the prospect of a national referendum on the US bases issue. As part of the concerted pressure to push the Aquino regime to a more hard-line anti-communist stand, Assistant Defense Secretary Richard L. Armitage said in a testimony before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the US Congress that the Philippine government has failed to develop "a comprehensive anti-insurgency plan" and therefore the rebellion is growing. His complaint was echoed by outgoing US Ambassador Stephen Bosworth.

But by far the most disturbing development is the rise of right-wing vigilantes for "democracy" some of which have official government sanction. Local Governments Secretary Jaime Ferrer, who worked with the CIA in support of MacArthur in the early 1950s, planned the formation of anti-communist citizens' action committees as soon as he assumed office. These groups, not exactly voluntary and not exactly unarmed (they use small firearms, knives, bolos and spears), accordingly fascinate the President herself as well as her Cabinet, who gave these groups the official approval only after Ferrer had long implemented his CIA-inspired plan. The NAKASAKA is as virulent as other right-wing fanatics like the Alsa Mesa, the Kaka, and the Tadtad which are sprouting in many places, their ranks filled with neighborhood goons and thugs. They are a recycling of the paramilitary Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF) ordered dissolved by the new Constitution. This early, the vigilantes are already committing the same human rights violations that the CHDF has been notorious for.

President Aquino herself denied ordering the dismantling of the CHDF and the disbandment of Alsa Mesa. In unsheathing the sword of war against the insurgents, she seems to be willing to negate or disregard the human rights provisions in the 1987 Constitution overwhelmingly ratified by the people, as she intimated in her speech at the Philippine Military Academy.

From all indications, the vigilantes will spread as paramilitary groups, in accordance with the pattern set in Central America based on the US Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) strategy for dealing with insurgency. One aspect of this pattern is the deliberate blurring of the distinction between the military and civilian forces so that military responsibility for excesses can conveniently be denied. Civilians kill or harass other civilians while the military is spared from the fray and is reserved for bigger operations. The US gives the arms and other logistics for this fratricidal strife, while preventing direct involvement and limiting the color of dead bodies to brown.

Another important aspect of the LIC and overall US strategy is to stir up anti-Soviet feelings in the country, paint the Soviet Union as the devil incarnate, and link it to the insurgency. Thus, the spate of anti-Soviet propaganda in the media focused on allegedly suspicious goings-on in the construction of a Soviet Embassy compound, the "incursions" of Soviet trawlers in Philippine waters, and the "presence" of three Soviets in Surigao del Sur allegedly supporting the insurgents. In all this, there lurks the possibility that in raising the issue of "Soviet military threat" the CIA and other US subversive groups seek to internationalize the local insurgency issue, to justify direct military action by US forces. Part of the US-inspired disinformation campaign harps on the alleged moves toward a merger of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)-New People's Army (NPA) allegedly in order to facilitate greater Soviet support for the insurgency. Aside from picturing the Soviet Union as an ambitious interloper in Philippine affairs, this kind of projection endangers the legal status of the PKP and prejudices its drive to pursue the path of open mass political struggle in the parliamentary arena to achieve its aims of national independence and popular democracy.

In all this, the pro-US and right-wing interests will be the ones to profit. In the coming elections for Congress, the vigilantes will most likely serve as the private armies of traditional politicians, an eventuality that the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) already warned against in a resolution calling for the dismantling of such groups, an official position from which COMELEC later retreated on account of pressure from pro-American elements in the Aquino government. The anti-communist virulence which smears all progressives will force many of them to

moderate, modify, or obfuscate their stand, for example, on the question of the US bases, in order to win. Those who are truly principled and who dare to articulate anti-imperialist views will be harassed, their supporters will be attacked by the vigilantes, and given the resources needed to win in a Philippine election, most of them will most likely lose. Under the new Constitution, it takes two-thirds of the Senate votes (which means 16) to pass a new international treaty or to renew the bases agreement. This magic number is virtually in the bag. But of course, the Americans will be even happier if the candidates running on an anti-imperialist platform will lose as badly as Recto did when the CIA worked against him in the 1957 presidential elections (including a secret operation to assassinate Recto by poison).

Beyond the elections looms the impending renegotiations of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement being planned early next year. The bases are the fulcrum of American foreign policy toward the Philippines and Southeast Asia. Their retention must be justified at all costs, and what better way is there but to project the insurgency as a source of imminent danger, the Soviet Union as a hungry bear out to snatch the country, and communism itself as Satanism which must be fought with the full force of nuclear weapons stationed in the bases?

The US-orchestrated anti-communist campaign will escalate, endangering all progressive and democratic forces in society. We must remember that both Hitler and Marcos used anti-communism to justify a clampdown on all dissenters. The "democratic space" gained during the "February revolution" which toppled Marcos will fast disappear. But it is not yet too late.

We call on all patriotic Filipinos to expose and oppose the American game plan of subversion which will lead to prolonged fratricidal strife and immense suffering for our people. The mailed fist policy against the insurgency does not address the basic social problems that are at the root of any rebellion. Agrarian reform and other structural changes are the real solutions, not annihilation of insurgents in the name of anti-communism and for the benefit of US interests.

We join all the other democratic forces in calling for the immediate disbandment of the CHDF, Alba Mesa, the NAKASAKA and all other paramilitary groups, in accordance with the spirit of the 1986 Constitution which distills all the lessons of the anti-fascist struggle against the Marcos dictatorship.

We appeal to all the progressive candidates in this coming elections to ventilate the issues against imperialism, to call for the expansion of democracy instead of its constriction by the Right riding on the crest of anti-communism.

We join all the peace forces in the Philippines in intensifying the struggle to remove the US bases and to implement the nuclear-weapon-free provision in the new Constitution, despite US attempts to intimidate us by a strident anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

We appeal to all thinking Filipinos to reject the right-wing fanaticism of the anti-communists and to recognize the right of communists, who represent the interests of the working people, to participate in the political life of the nation within the framework of a civil and pluralistic society.

We call upon all patriotic Filipinos, in particular the organized ranks of workers, to demonstrate en masse in protest against US intervention and to assert national sovereignty.

NO TO A US-MADE BOGEY! YES TO REAL DEMOCRACY!

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Political Bureau

Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)

4 April 1987

WEEKLY PROFILES, LAUDS PNB CANDIDATES

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 1 Apr 87 pp 8-13, 42

[Article by Danilo P. Vizmanos: "The Magnificent 7 of Partido ng Bayan"]

[Text]

It's "guts, goals and grassroots," not "guns, goons, and gold." This is the essence of the "new politics" of Partido ng Bayan which has stirred the imagination of millions of Filipinos, especially the young.

Against tremendous odds, Partido ng Bayan has decided to enter the political arena by fielding seven senatorial and scores of congressional candidates throughout the country against an array of professional "trapo" or traditional politicians of the old school.

"We accept the challenge of the elite-based political parties and with the support of the toiling masses and the middle forces, we aim to win in this historical electoral struggle," asserts Fidel Agcaoili, chairman of PnB and the longest detained political prisoner under the Marcos dictatorship.

"The PnB people's candidates pitted against the 'trapo' candidates of the old school," says PnB Secretary-General Alan Jazmines, "is like comparing the fragrance of a sampaguita flower with the stinking smell of a rot-

ten onion. We may be 'babes in the woods' but we smell much better than the wolves and hyenas."

"The emergence of a mass-based political party in today's electoral battle," declares PnB president and congressional candidate for Agusan Norte's 1st District, Atty. Wilfred Asis, "is like a fresh wind blowing through the musty corridors of an old and decaying structure which is cracking up and giving way to the irresistible pressure of today's 'new politics' spearheaded by Partido ng Bayan."

A creditable performance by Partido ng Bayan in the coming elections will alter the course of Philippine history. It can be the beginning of a new era that will finally displace the dark ages of political serfdom and economic bondage that have straitjacketed Philippine society for centuries.

What is it that makes the PnB's "Magnificent 7" different from the "trapo" senatorial slates of elite-based political parties?

They have guts. All seven PnB senatorial candidates are veteran "freedom fighters." Six of them — Bernabe "Ka Dante" Buscayno, Crispin "Ka Bel" Beltran, Horacio "Boy" Morales, Nelia Sancho, Joe Burgos and Jaime "Ka Jimmy" Tadeo — are ex-detainees. They were "special guests" of Mr. Marcos and his military cronies in various detention centers during the darkest days of the dictatorship. While they were languishing in their prison cells, many of their current senatorial opponents were holding positions of power and privilege under a brutal, rapacious dictatorship. Romy Capulong became an exception only because he evaded the clutches of the military. To Marcos' henchmen he was one of the most wanted men for his unwavering stand in the 1971 Constitutional Convention as a "rebel" delegate.

They have clear-cut goals — issues and objectives spelled out in a democratic and nationalist-oriented program of action. They distinguish shallow and superficial reforms from fundamental changes in our political and socio-economic structures and systems. Genuine land reform, national industrialization that will benefit the masses and middle class and not only the upper crust of society, assertion of national sovereignty that calls for the removal of US military bases which are the source of the incurable AIDS and serve as prime targets for thermonuclear warheads, the development of a genuine citizen army that can truly serve the people instead of treating them as "enemies of the state" — these are among the democratic, nationalist and pro-people provisions contained in the PnB program of action.

The PnB candidates are committed to serve and uphold the

interests of the broad masses all the way down to the grassroots level. In contrast, elite-based political parties composed of reactionary landlords and surrogates of foreign vested-interest groups cannot be expected to place the interests of the masses above those of their own kind. The most they can do is pay lip-service to the people's welfare by doling out T-shirts and cash handouts on election day. They give a "treat" to the voters for one day and then forget about them and their basic demands as they mend their fences and recoup their "investments" plus interests and surcharges over the next three or six years. This is the sum total of the political philosophy of the "trapo" in traditional Philippine politics.

The Senate bets of Partido ng Bayan have common and unique characteristics that distinguish them from the "trapo":

- They have all been victims of state repression, persecution and harassment during the Marcos dictatorship and under the existing political and social order.
- They have never stolen the people's money.
- They have never abused and exploited other people.
- They feel "at home" with the poor and oppressed and have joined them in their continuing struggle for social justice and a better quality of life.
- They have consistently espoused Philippine sovereignty over the national territory and the abrogation of unequal and onerous treaties and agreements with other countries.
- They have consistently advocated civilian supremacy over the military and the demilitarization of the government bureaucracy and the social environment.
- They are ready to sacrifice even their lives for the liberation

of the downtrodden and victims of social injustice.

• They believe they can win in the electoral struggle in spite of financial handicaps because they have the support of the poor and the youth who comprise more than 80 percent of the Filipino people.

The salient features of individual candidates of Partido ng Bayan for the Senate:

Bernabe "Ka Dante" Buscayno – Although addressed as the "Tinig ng Pagbabago," "Ka Dante" ["A New Voice"]

is actually more moderate in his political views than most people would expect. He opted for participation instead of boycott in the 1986 presidential election. Against the expectations of "hardliners," he maintained a "critical yes" stand in the constitutional plebiscite. He views the parliamentary process as a new forum for the exercise of legal and democratic rights in promoting the interests of the toiling masses.

"Long-term economic progress cannot be attained," says Ka Dante, "unless agricultural development is complemented by an industrialization program geared toward the production of 'machines that produce machines' under Filipino auspices." He advocates a citizen army that depends primarily on local resources and not on foreign handouts with strings attached. Ka Dante believes that the key to national security depends more on the quality and pro-people orientation of the individual soldier rather than sophisticated and expensive weapons and equipment.

"The 'low intensity conflict' strategy of the Reagan administration merely means that the US power elite intends to fight a proxy war in our country by pitting Filipinos against brother Filipinos," comments Ka Dante. "I believe that we Filipinos should settle our own problems," he adds, "because if there is anybody who is most concerned with peace and prosperity in our country it is none other than ourselves, never the foreigners. All they are interested in are their strategic interests and the superprofits amassed from the sale of weapons of death and destruction."

Buscayno views the intensifying conflict raging in the country not in an East-West context but more of an impoverished people's desire to improve their living conditions and state of wretchedness. "Unfortunately, there are very strong vested-interest groups in our country and abroad," he sadly comments, "who would like to reap the privileges and benefits of society only for themselves to the exclusion of the hungry masses who are becoming more hopeless and desperate with every passing day. We hope that our entry and participation in the law-making process will be the beginning of a new era for the dispossessed, neglected and hungry in our land."

Crispin "Ka Bel" Beltran – An ex-taxi driver, he rose to the presidency of the Yellow Taxi Drivers Union. Born to a poor peasant family in Albay, he was a working student but pressure of work and trade union activities prevented him from finishing college. He decided to devote full time to the formation and expansion of trade unions culminating in the founding of Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) together with Bert and Lando Olalia and other veteran

labor leaders. A political prisoner during the Marcos dictatorship, he made a dramatic and successful bid for freedom, escaping from his captors in November 1984.

"Ka Bel," as he is popularly known to the cause-oriented, believes that the workers must depend primarily on organization, unity and their own efforts and capability, instead of relying on a government dominated by conservatives, to improve their lot and advance their representation and participation in the affairs of state. He also believes that a government that is concerned more with the interests of foreign corporations and agencies such as the IMF-World Bank rather than the well-being and basic demands of the Filipino masses will, in the long run, find itself alienated from its own people. "An economic recovery program dominated by alien advisers and their local stooges," says Ka Bel, "cannot rise far above its launching pad because it does not serve alien interests for it to rise beyond the clouds."

Ka Bel is wont to use metaphors that carry a more profound meaning than what the usually hears from most government technocrats and "economic experts" with a string of post-graduate degrees. He may seem to be a firebrand but deep within him is a compassion for his own people who have become victims of institutionalized violence and injustice. Once elected to the Senate, Ka Bel vows to champion the cause not only of the workers but also of all those who are deprived and oppressed. He certainly deserves to be called the "Tinig ng Manggagawa."

["The Worker's Voice"].

Nelia Sancho — If she were an "ordinary" woman, her proper place in Philippine society would

be among the elegant rich in the posh villages of Makati. But she has chosen to be "extraordinary" by devoting time and effort to the needs of people who consider themselves lucky if they can have one square meal a day, or children whose grade schooling is considered by their parents as a luxury. This beauty and brains from a UP class in journalism has experienced the worst that a decadent society can offer and yet maintains an equanimity that even the male of the species would find hard to duplicate. Participating in the first hunger strike of detainees in Bicutan in 1976, she was able to go without food for a week until she collapsed and had to be hospitalized.

Nelia's dedication to the cause of the downtrodden and the countless victims of state repression impels her active involvement in cause-oriented organizations such as GABRIELA, KAPATID, SAMAKANA and TFDP. She is unlike her female counterparts in other political parties who feel like strangers among the "wretched of the earth" and merely pay lip-service to the people's welfare and needs. There is none of the artificiality, pretension and hypocrisy common to politician-matrons in her everyday life and activities.

As the "Tinig ng Kababaihan," ["The Women's Voice"] she concerns herself not only with the interests of women. Her sphere of social and political activities encompass the other half as well. She considers "reformism" inadequate as a solution to the historical problems of economic underdevelopment, mass poverty and chronic unemployment.

Perhaps her biggest advantage over the politician-matrons is her kinship with the masses. She has become one of their own after she disengaged herself from the

status-symbolism and frivolities of beauty contests and similar decadent social occasions that cater to the desires of the privileged few and the unenlightened segment of the population. Nelia's sincerity, humility and compassion for the underprivileged should make her one of the most trusted and reliable representatives of the broad Filipino masses in the halls of Congress.

Jaime "Ka Jimmy" Tadeo — A deeply religious man fully convinced that God can only be on the side of the poor and down-trodden, "Ka Jimmy" stands firm on his commitment: "Ipatutupad namin ang tunay na reforma sa lupa batay sa tinatawag na kalooban ng Panginoon. Iyon ay nakatataas na batas. Iyon ay batas ng Diyos."

["We are advocating true land reform that involves widespread application. This is the higher law. This is God's law."]

In between mass actions and pickets, the former "sacristan" finds time to continue teaching grade school pupils in Plaridel, Bulacan, where his family now resides. He joined Commissioner Jose Suarez in casting a "no" vote on the day of decision in the Constitutional Commission. They were a minority of two whose vision and foresight will, in due time, vindicate them before the eyes of the Filipino people.

"My most unforgettable experience," says Ka Jimmy, "was when soldiers and police agents suddenly opened fire on the poor and helpless farmers around me on Mendiola last January 22. One might have normally expected it during the Marcos regime. But to be felled by bullets coming from 'my soldiers,' to quote President Aquino, was a shocking and traumatic experience." He

reflects that a president cannot continue to be popular forever while "her soldiers" continue to mow down and massacre farmers and workers. When the Mendiola Commission recommended the filing of sedition charges against him, Ka Jimmy took it stoically and became more convinced that the poor and the oppressed have nobody else to depend on but themselves. His commitment to the marginalized and exploited farmers as the "Tinig ng Magbubukid"

["The Voice of the Farmers"]

is the driving force and spirit behind his current political crusade which, despite the odds, places enormous faith in the latent power of the silent but militant farmers and the rest of the toiling masses.

Romeo Capulong — The "Tinig ng Makataong Karapatan" ["The Voice of Those Whose Rights Have Been Restored"]

anticipates, with the introduction of Ronald Reagan's "low intensity conflict" doctrine in the Philippines, an escalation of military operations and attendant human rights violations. Romy Capulong believes that the defense and enhancement of human rights can no longer be expected from government and the Church hierarchy but from the people themselves and the cause-oriented organizations. He sees an imperative need for cause-oriented individuals in the Senate who will actively support human rights in the struggle of the Filipino people against foreign domination, social injustice, and fascism.

"Many crimes have been and are still being committed by state authorities in the name of 'anti-communism,'" says Romy. "The government leadership

merely goes through the motions of an investigation while the Catholic hierarchy prefers to remain silent and immobile while unspeakable horrors and unimaginable cruelty continue to be inflicted on the Filipino people." Romy Capulong is no stranger to human rights violations. His law office was raided by the military in 1979. He was forced to leave for the US post-haste where he was granted political asylum. He helped build solidarity movements abroad while defending the political rights of Filipino migrants. His impartiality and advocacy of peaceful means convinced US-based human rights groups that he should play an active role in the peace negotiations between the government and the National Democratic Front.

Romy distinguished himself in the 1971 Constitutional Convention by joining forces with the nationalist-oriented bloc which included such "rebel" delegates as Jose Mari Velez and Alejandro Lichauco. A Senate with people like Romy Capulong and the other candidates of Partido ng Bayan can more than measure up to the prestigious Senate of the 1950s when nationalists and patriots like Claro M. Recto, Lorenzo Tanada, and Jose P. Laurel took up the cudgels for the Filipino people against foreign domination, exploitation and social injustice.

Jose Burgos Jr. – "Ang Tinig ng Malayang Pamamahayag"

[**"The Voice of the Free Press"**] best describes Joe Burgos who has become a living legend in the annals of Philippine journalism. Everybody knows him as the fearless publisher and founding editor of *We Forum* and *Ang Pahayagang Malaya*. Following a series of brilliant exposés and highly critical investigative re-

ports, Marcos' military agents in December 1982 forcibly closed down *We Forum*, seized its equipment, documents and other property, and arrested Joe Burgos and his staff. *We Forum* started as a "voice in the wilderness" but gradually developed into the most credible newspaper during those dark days of the nation's history.

While other journalists defiled themselves as willing victims of the massive corruption of the mass media by Marcos, Joe Burgos and his band of "misguided" writers stuck to their principles and through sheer guts and grit eventually paved the way for the disintegration and collapse of the Marcos regime. In proving once more that "the pen is mightier than the sword," they exposed the rottenness and vulnerability of the US-based dictatorship. Joe is credited with so many achievements that these can fill pages of newsprint and literature. He has received numerous freedom and distinguished performance awards and citations from both local and international organizations. It is fitting tribute to a man who defied the odds and risked not only his own life but also that of his family in a historic crusade for freedom and justice during the darkest days of the dictatorship. Guts, determination, brains and kinship with the toiling masses and middle class should make Joe Burgos a distinct asset and formidable fiscalizer in the Senate.

Horacio "Boy" Morales – The "Tinig ng Kaunlaran"

[**"The Voice of the Progressives"**] is a former government technocrat who arrived at a crucial decision to join the people's underground struggle against the Marcos dictatorship at the prime of his life. He gave up what could have been a very promising future in

the government hierarchy. As executive vice-president of the Development Academy of the Philippines, Boy Morales decided to join the underground movement on the very day he was to receive his award – in recognition of his splendid record in public administration – as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men in 1977. From technocrat in elite circles, he made a complete turnaround by committing himself to the service of the underprivileged and oppressed in the countryside. He was later captured and detained from 1982 to 1986, when he was released by virtue of the "democratic space" of the newly-installed Aquino government.

Boy reentered the political mainstream and participated in the post-February '86 people power organizations like the Volunteers for Popular Democracy and the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, of which he is the head. This involvement with popular organizations gave him the opportunity to apply the hard-earned lessons he acquired during his

years of serving the people at the grassroots levels. His expertise in public administration and his shared experiences with the broad masses at the base of the social pyramid are rare ingredients one will seldom find among those who hold public office at the national level.

It is not enough that a senator should know how to deliver speeches, hold hearings and draft legislative proposals. The vital requirements are personal integrity, foresight, administrative and technical competence, as well as direct experience and rapport with the people from all sectors, especially farmers, workers, fishermen, urban poor and tribal minorities who comprise more than 70 percent of the nation's population. The record of performance and unique experience of Boy Morales meet these requirements. He is not only capable of performing the job of legislator at the national level. More than this, he has the credentials and potential for becoming one of the outstanding senators in the halls of Congress.

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CSO: 4200/493

WEEKLY CRITICIZES OPPOSITION CANDIDATES IN ASSESSMENT

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 1 Apr 87 pp 14-16

[Article by Juaniyo Arcellana: "New Opposition, Old Politicians"]

[Text]

Ex-Presidential Counsel and administration senatorial candidate Rene Saguisag has described the split in the opposition ticket as "political suicide." The Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD), a brittle coalition of oppositionists with diverse persuasions, sooner or later had to reveal that it had a much weaker Siamese sibling, the Union for Peace and Progress (UPP), composed mostly of Marcos diehards left out of the original alliance. The GAD and the UPP, it turned out, had eight common senatorial candidates: Arturo Tolentino, Isidro Rodriguez, Vicente Magsaysay, Lorenzo Teves, Edith Rabat, Wenceslao Lagumbay, Alejandro Almendras and Joseph Estrada.

The main reason for the split being GAD's refusal to include ex-Assemblymen Leonardo Perez and Rafael Recto in the opposition slate. To GAD, which wanted to keep its credibility intact, the loyal pair's Hawaiian connection was "excess baggage." And so the split came about, although, in the eyes of GAD Senate bet and former Marcos Information Minister Francisco Tatad, it need not necessarily be detrimental to the opposition. According to Tatad,

Special GAD candidates not included in the UPP have "independent judgment" and are "able to transcend partisan loyalties." But to get to the crux of the story, the heart of the matter... Are not most, if not all, of the new opposition, alumni of the old school? In fact, except for a few notable exceptions, is not the administration slate also composed of the same recycled faces? It isn't likely that the Philippine electorate can find 24 fresh and untainted reputations for the Senate, seeing that they are more and more being given the choice between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Let us now focus on some of the better known GAD and UPP-KBL candidates to see if there is really anything new about them.

Homobono Adaza. Enfant terrible, ladies' man and master dirty trickster, he may have set the tone for the campaign with his opening salvo of new bugged telephone tapes. While there was strafing and hamletting in his native Mindanao, Adaza was busy with his latest political eavesdropping caper: then it was Joker Arroyo, now it's Tingting Cojuangco. Entertaining for a

while, but in the long run such exposes only reveal his shady and dubious connections.

Alejandro Almendras. Up to now there is still some controversy whether it was he or the still missing Manda Elizalde who won the eighth and last Senate seat in the 1971 elections. One of the less tainted ones on this ticket, but only to the ignorant.

Juan Ponce Enrile. What else can be said of Johnny that hasn't been said already? When he first ran in '71 he landed a dismal 12th, or thereabouts. Considered the point man of the opposition, Enrile can bring in votes both from fanatical EDSA revolutionaries as well as from his native Ilocandia. His stridently reactionary style is definitely old hat. A Senate seat would boost his chances for GAD help us, the presidency in 1992.

Rene Espina. But what is he really, candidate or campaign manager? In the news lately for his letter to the President inquiring about the ex-Madame's jewels. Leader of the breakaway UNIDO, which only proves that in politics, battle lines aren't always so clearly drawn.

Joseph Estrada. It might have been J. Estrada who recently

purchased P8 million worth of medicine from a pharmaceutical firm: a political investment and campaign strategy to help out the sick and impoverished. After years as San Juan mayor, Erap has bigger and brighter dreams. He has better chances than the Agimat ng Masa.

Roilo Golez. The ex-Postmaster General might be able to do more things as a sporting honcho employed by Gintong Alay and/or the Philippine Olympic Committee. If he wins, expect Manila Beer to stage a comeback in the PBA. Golez is right when he says that what this country needs is a strong opposition. Just what kind is another question altogether.

Eva Estrada-Kalaw. A runaway winner in 1971; also a Plaza Miranda survivor. Ran for Vice President last year and wound up third. She was instrumental in booting out most of the KBL nominees. Has a strong chance of landing in the Magic 24. A veteran campaigner and long-time Marcos-hater, she has been photographed with Anti-Communist League organizers.

Blas Ople. That Ople is running again for the Senate, in spite of finishing near the bottom in '71, simply means that hope springs eternal for Blas, with or without a case of beer. This humble Bulakeño, whose near-legendary drinking exploits are still fondly recalled at the National Press Club, was labor minister

for most of the twenty years the nation was ruled by the Ilocano strongman. Chances are even, but not as good as Enrile's and Kalaw's.

Francisco Tatad. Just when the weekly *Observer* goes daily, its editor-publisher takes a leave of absence from the paper but maintains his column nonetheless. His contemplative, perpetual half-smirk makes him a natural for any opposition slate. May never rid himself of the stigma of announcing Proclamation 1081 over television. Ran for '84 Batasan but lost despite prayers of the Opus Dei.

Arturo Tolentino. With a 10 million peso Manila Hotel damage hanging over his graying head like a coat of arms, Turing returns to the hustings for what could really be the greatest performance of his life. He has been called a maverick, a chameleon, a fiscalizer; his being hard to pin down may actually work for him. First runner-up in last year's vice presidential race. If he wins, impeachment proceedings for Madame Cory could well be his last hurrah.

From the KBL side, or those who were left out in the loyal rain, we have the following better-known entities:

Leonardo Perez. An oldtimer, if there ever was one. Wildly applauded by a predominantly Marcosist crowd during the great

television debates on the 1986 Constitution. Served long years in the pre-martial law Congress. Also remembered for giving the finger to jeering demonstrators at the height of the Batasan Pambansa controversy over the authenticity of his legislative seat.

Rafael Recto. Underhanded political strategists might inquire if Raffy is really his father's son. Left out of the GAD ticket because, according to some opposition bigwigs, "he smelled like Marcos." Nonconformist nonpareil, if nonconformity means being faithful to a fascist master half an ocean away.

Nicanor Yñiguez. Former Speaker of the rubber-stamp Batasan almost became president of this republic after Marcos took his oath and fled, and Tolentino was nowhere to be found.

There you have it, for better or for worse — the Great Philippine Opposition. Some may appear to be lurid fundamentalists, while others may be dismissed as plain gadflies or gadabouts. This will be our most exciting election in so many technicolor years. "Another EDSA!" proclaims one poet-academician.

The entire metropolis looks like one gigantic mural. Or is it a collage? Everybody needs a good opposition. Of whatever kind, the more the merrier. Choose your wild, baby, I don't care.

BUSCAYNO URGES INSURGENCY TRUCE TALKS RESUME

0W101239 Tokyo KYODO in English 1157 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Manila, 10 Apr (KYODO)--Former guerrilla chief Bernabe Buscayno said Friday that he would ask congress to negotiate an end to the 18-year communist-led insurgency in the Philippines if he is elected in the 11 May congressional elections.

He said that he would propose the creation of a committee that would meet with representatives of the rebel National Democratic Front (NDF) when congress convenes in August this year.

Peace talks between the Manila Government and the NDF, a 12-member coalition including the banned communist party and the New People's Army (NPA), collapsed in February.

The former NPA leader also said he would not go back to the hills if he is not elected as long as the political climate permits leftists to participate in the electoral process. "We will try and try again," Buscayno told members of a civic club in a plush Makati hotel.

Buscayno and six others are running for the 24-member senate under the banner of the leftist coalition "Alliance for New Politics (ANP)".

He said that he expects three ANP senatorial and 24 congressional candidates to win in the elections--the first elections that leftists have participated in since the 1949 congressional polls.

Buscayno also expressed concern over the killing and harassment of ANP candidates and supporters. He said that at least four ANP supporters have been killed since the start of the campaign and several others arrested because of alleged links to NPA urban liquidation squads.

He disclosed that the ANP candidates will campaign in Davao City, on Mindanao Island, where armed anti-communist vigilantes have threatened to disrupt their planned rallies.

Meanwhile, Constabulary Chief Maj Gen Renato de Villa said that bolo-wielding vigilantes will not be disarmed by the military.

Speaking to reporters in Cebu City, de Villa said that bolos are used as farm implements by farmers, who make up the bulk of members of the groups that have recently flourished in the southern Philippines.

He reiterated, however, the guidelines issued by armed forces Chief Fidel Ramos to check the activities of the vigilante groups. "Vigilante members who violate the law or are guilty of infractions will have to be prosecuted like any other violator," he added.

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LEFTWING URGES HALT TO ANTICOMMUNIST 'WITCH-HUNT'

0W010047 Tokyo KYODO in English 0029 GMT 1 Apr 87

[Text] Manila, 1 Apr (KYODO)--Congressional candidates of the left-wing Alliance for New Politics (ANP) has urged President Corazon Aquino to stop the government-backed anticomunist witch-hunt.

Nelia Sancho, a senatorial candidate of the Partido Ng Bayan (PNB--People's Party), affiliated with the ANP, said Aquino "must set an example of preserving an environment for clean and honest elections." The first congressional elections under Aquino will be held 11 May.

Sancho said Aquino's justification for last Sunday's arrest of PNB campaign volunteers and her endorsement of anticomunist civilian vigilantes "do not provide an environment for clean and honest elections."

The NAP leaders said a PNB volunteer, Rodel Tabares, was killed in Aklan in central Philippines amid the current anticomunist hysteria.

Meanwhile, about 75 supporters of the PNB picketed the Manila police headquarters to protest the raids last Sunday and demanded the release of 11 PNB volunteers that are suspected to be members of the "Sparrow units" of the communist-led New People's Army. The sparrows have been blamed for the killing of 12 Manila policemen. Police have so far shot seven suspected urban guerrillas since last week.

Sancho told reporters if Aquino allows herself to be increasingly influenced by the military, "in two to three years, we will have another Marcos-like situation."

Sancho was referring to the proliferation of unwieldy paramilitary groups, which have committed numerous human rights violations during the rule of former President Ferdinand Marcos.

Jose Virgilio Bautista, a spokesman for the ANP, said the recent harassment of PNB supporters indicates that the Aquino Government is "becoming threatened by the strength and the popular support that the People's Party is gaining."

"To ensure victory in the coming polls, the Aquino Government must go down to the level and practice of old politicians among whom the most effective electoral campaign remains to be that which follows the logic of guns, goons, and gold," Bautista told reporters.

The Philippines elects 24 senators and 200 congressmen for the U.S.-style bicameral legislature in the May polls.

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MIDWEEK INTERVIEWS MILF REBELS ON CURRENT ISSUES

Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 1 Apr 87 pp 17-19

[Article by Melvin Uy: "In Search of a Just Peace"]

[Text]

Marawi City, it seems, is still "hostile territory" for the New Armed Forces of the Philippines (NAFP). Soldiers are rarely seen walking alone or in twos; they usually go about in large groups. Residents here still recall stories of soldiers never returning to their barracks after roaming around.

Stories of this sort float around easily in "liberated" parts of the city, and even my supposedly confidential trip to a Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) guerrilla base somewhere at the other side of Lake Lanao had become public knowledge among the cluster of houses along the lakeshore.

"Mabuting mapuntahan mo ang mga forces namin doon para malaman mo talaga kung bakit kami galit sa pamahalaan." ["It's good that you can visit our forces there so you will really learn why we're so angry with the government."] a resident told me in accented Tagalog.

The trip across the lake was

delayed due to the fog that hugged the lake for most of the afternoon. An hour and a half later, visibility was clear enough for the 20-foot motorized banca to take us to the other side. Sahleem (not his real name), MILF military chairman of Marawi City, myself and three others, finally began our six-hour trip. It would have taken us only two hours by jeep and another two hours on foot, but bridges connecting Marawi City with the lake towns had recently been destroyed by the guerrillas.

When we reached the other side, Sahleem explained that the way was clear of military patrols and bandits. "This area is under rebel control and bandits no longer move around."

The last time the military entered the place was in 1978. The four-battalion column, backed by tanks, APCs and 105 mm artillery, only reached the foot of the forested hill and wasn't able to probe deeper. Sahleem, then a rebel field commander doing hit-and-run operations, considered themselves lucky for surviving the government pincer. Their fighters at that time were morally weak due to serious military

setbacks and the re-alignment of forces the previous year, which were in turn caused by the rift between Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) chief Nur Misuari and his deputy, Salamat Hashim. The rebels had attributed their good fortune to their will to survive and their faith in Islam.

The last major fight in Lanao del Sur was in June-August 1984, in the Basak area and Lumba-a-Bayabao town, domain of Kumander Mike Narra of the MNLF-Reformist, another faction which former MNLF vice chairman Dimas Pundato established in 1978, a year after the Misuari-Hashim split. For 76 days, four Army battalions, beefed up by armor, artillery and air support, encircled Narra. Factional differences were put aside in that hour of severe test, and guerrilla contingents from the Hashim faction and the MNLF rushed to aid the MNLF-Reformist group. Civilians from as far as Marawi shelled out cash and material support and even risked their lives sneaking the aid into guerrilla hands. The rebels withstood the attack and the Army withdrew.

It was also in that year that the faction of Salamat Hashim, to which Sahleem belongs, named itself the MILF.

In this year's incident, which could have ignited another confrontation, the rebels destroyed bridges and toppled down electric posts of the National Power Corporation and of the local electric cooperative. One person, a Maranao security guard of the Mindanao State University (MSU) in Marawi, was killed.

The MILF's short-lived war, January 13-16, however, drew flak from different quarters, including the Maranaos. One such criticism came from PC Capt. Mangura Tago, a Maranao assigned at the Recom-12 head-

quarters in Parang, Maguindanao. "These people (MILF) are only hurting the civilians. Stupid!"

At the MILF camp shortly after we arrived, Ustadz Abdulaziz Mimbantas, vice-chairman for internal affairs of the MILF, admitted he was the brain of the "stupid" operation which paralyzed land transportation along the lake towns and electricity in nearly the entire province. Mimbantas, 38 years old and a graduate of Azhar University in Cairo, revealed that the "top secret" operation was only disclosed to the field commanders on the very day of its staging. Some 500 guerrillas, "one-fourth of our forces in the province" were split up into ten teams. Two penetrated Marawi City under cover of darkness, the rest went to the municipalities. Ten wooden bridges and 70 electric posts went down on January 14 with the use of chainsaws and gasoline. Explosives were saved for "future reminder operations."

Blood is thicker than water. Guerrillas refrained from attacking military outposts because there were Maranao soldiers stationed there. Kumander Falcon Panandan, chief of the Bangsamoro Internal Security Force (BISF) in Lanao del Sur, regretted they had to fire at the MSU security guard. The MILF would indemnify the victim's family, he explained.

Strongly criticized even by some Maranaos was the sawing off of bridges, which paralyzed the transport of farm produce to Marawi and other towns down to Iligan City. Mimbantas explained that "we are waging a revolution against the government." Drawing a parallel from the Algerian revolution against France in the 1950s, he argued that sabotage work is necessary to hurt and paralyze the govern-

ment. The destruction of bridges was meant to discourage government retaliatory strikes.

Taken as a whole, however, MILF sabotage in the province, estimated at P1.7 million, was meant to convey a message of protest to the Aquino government. The administration, Mimbartas charged, "reneged on its promises during the elections and continued to ignore us" in the negotiations to end the 14-year Moro insurgency. The coordinated offensives in the provinces of Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao and Lanao del Sur and in the cities of Marawi and Cotabato were "reminder operations" which "could be repeated in the future."

Even if in the wrong way, the government took notice of the MILF by promptly dispatching to Cotabato two combat battalions, helicopter gunships, artillery and Tora-Tora planes. Another battalion was rushed to Marawi from Misamis Oriental on January 16, a day before Presidential Adviser Aquilino Pimentel and President Aquino met with Hashim's deputy Hadji Al Murad, and signed a "temporary ceasefire."

"We issued enough warnings; in fact, we exhausted all peaceful means, from staging peaceful demonstrations, holding press conferences and sending letters to the President. But the government excluded the biggest revolutionary organization of the Bangsamoro in favor of the skeletal one," claimed Mimbartas, "just like what it did in the Cordilleras by recognizing only the tiny faction of Fr. Balweg."

In its initial moves to solve the 14-year Moro insurgency, the Aquino government only talked with Nur Misuari's MNLF. After the MILF's "reminder operation," however, Hashim's group was also assured of a place

at the negotiating table, and hostilities in Central Mindanao were averted – at least for now.

But even if the government does not accord it recognition, the MILF can no longer be written off as an insignificant rebel group. In its controlled areas, the MILF is tacitly recognized by local officials and law enforcers who, in some sort of modus vivendi, implement government programs without stepping on the toes of the rebels and their mass base.

An alternative political structure opposing (but in many cases complementing) that of the government is already at work. Mimbartas boasted that even local authorities seek rebel help in solving disputes and in running after criminal elements. This "parallel government" also implements the "economic self-sufficiency program" recently mandated by the MILF central committee. Today, the rebels are engaged in increasing food production and in the manufacture of firearms, particularly M-79 grenade launchers.

Peacekeeping is being done by the Bangsamoro Islamic National Army (BINA), the Bangsamoro Internal Security Force (BISF), and the Bangsamoro Mobile Guerrilla Regulars. They apprehend offenders by virtue of "arrest warrants" issued by the Citizen-Military Islamic Tribunal (CMIT). Composed of respectable citizens of the community and MILF members, the CMIT serves the warrants based on complaints filed by residents. In every MILF base are "prisons" where offenders, after having been pronounced guilty, serve days, weeks or even months of detention, but year-long detention is very rare. Treason and murder are among the crimes punishable by death.

Rebel justice is already in practice, and Mimbartas claims

it is, in most cases, more efficient than that of the government's.

The MILF in particular and the Moro rebel movement in general grew during years of government neglect and malpractices, especially under the past regime. The present dispensation hopes to stem this growth by offering autonomy for Muslim Mindanao under the newly ratified Constitution.

An autonomous Muslim Mindanao, the Constitution says, is to be formulated by the soon-to-be elected Congress, and is to be finally decided upon in a local plebiscite. In both the congressional decision and the plebiscite, the MILF fears that the results would highly favor the Christian majority.

"We want to renegotiate first with the government," said Mimbantas. The MILF, according to him, wants "meaningful autonomy," branding the Constitutional provision as "designed and implemented only by Malacanang." He emphasized further the MILF's rejection of the "ready-made autonomy" in favor of a "meaningful autonomy," which he defines as one resulting from a "compromise agreement between the government and the Moro groups, including the MILF."

Until the government learns to recognize the true nature and intent of the war waged by the Moro rebels, the MILF will continue its struggle in strife-torn Mindanao. The MILF wants peace, but the peace it longs for is one that acknowledges the historical and moral rights of the Moros - one that is based on justice.

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MILITARY, BROADCASTER ALLEGATIONS 'POLARIZE' DAVAO

Quezon City VERITAS in English 19-25 Mar 87 pp 22, 23

[Article by Carolyn O. Arguillas: 'Anti-Communist Hysteria Sweeps Davao City': 'The Church Under Attack']

[Text]

THE current anti-communist hysteria in Davao City has only polarized the local population further, dividing them into so-called "pro-communists" and "anti-communists."

The polarization stems, ironically, from President Aquino's policy of reconciliation. The military's Oplan Eagle, launched immediately after the ceasefire expired, called for the rebels to come down from the hills and return to the folds of law by midnight of March 7. The invitation, however, was also an ultimatum: those who defied the call to reconciliation would face "massive military action."

While the Oplan Eagle was on, residents and communities were urged to "alsa" (to rebel) against the communists. Radio commentators here exhorted everyone to join the "people's uprising" or risk being branded pro-communists.

Metrodiscom Commander Lt. Col. Franco Calida, dubbed the "Father of the *Alsa Masa*" does not believe all rebels are communists; he prefers to see them as "our misguided brothers."

Somewhere along the way, however, either by fate or design, the campaign went full gear against the communists and citizens were labeled either "anti-communist" or "pro-communist." Those who do not openly support the anti-communist vigilante group *Alsa Masa*, are tagged as "pro-communist," "leftist," "communist," and "not for democracy."

Instead of winning over the non-communist rebels as President Aquino has said is Government's intention, the campaign may yet drive them to join the ranks of the so-called "hardcore" communists.

Anti-communist radio commentators and even Col. Calida go on air denouncing as "pro-communist" organizations like the labor group Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), the League of Filipino Students (LFS) and the left-wing political party Partido ng Bayan (PnB). They also lambast human rights lawyers, the Task Force Detainees (TFD), and priests and nuns who do not view the *Alsa Masa* as a solution to the insurgency problem.

THE *Alsa Masa* as an anti-communist organization has rendered the military's work easier. Its members, all civilians, identify rebels, rebel strongholds and graveyards of alleged NPA victims.

As an anti-communist organization allegedly composed of former rebels, the *Alsa Masa* would have been less vulnerable to criticism if it were indeed a spontaneous people's uprising.

But interviews with those who trooped to the barracks recently to join the organization revealed that (a) they were never NPAs or NPA sympathizers, but enlisted so they could get a certification of membership to show the military when the latter come to their barangays; (b) they enlisted for fear that their houses would be marked X or that they would be branded "pro-communists"; and (c) there is no screening as to who is a rebel, a sympathizer, or simply a scared citizen.

The fear of infiltration has spawned paranoia, forcing members to monitor one another's movements - particularly those known to have relatives "up there," (in the hills). Pressure on parents with children "up there" has been tre-

mendous. This has resulted in an incident where a couple had to pressure their son's wife, who was in her sixth month of pregnancy, to convince her husband to surrender. The wife, who did as she was told, was killed in a "surprise" military attack" in Suan-Catualan near Callawa last February 28.

EVEN the Church has not been spared. A Philippine News Agency dispatch bannered in a local paper on March 12 quoted Calida as saying he "received intelligence reports that the New People's Army is hiding a big cache of firearms and ammunition at the Carmelite Monastery at Lanang District and at the Redemptorist Church at J. P. Laurel."

The report also said that at the Assumption School, "16 armalites were (discovered) in the room last December 10" when the premises were searched by the military to go after Human Rights Day marchers who had sought refuge inside the school compound following the shooting of marcher Dikoy Fuentes.

The Carmelite nuns, the Redemptorist Fathers and the Assumption Sisters vehemently denied the allegations before Archbishop Antonio Mabutas. A press release from the Chancery of the Archbishop quoted Monsignor Mabutas as having said that Calida must have been fed "erroneous information." Mabutas even invited Calida to go with him to the convents to verify his statements.

Calida, in a meeting with the Archbishop and representatives from the two congregations last March 13, denied he made such allegations.

Calida told *Veritas* that the PNA report "seems to be exaggerated." *Veritas* tried but failed to reach the PNA dispatch writer for his side.

MEANWHILE, radio commentators in this city have not stopped their attacks against Catholic congregations.

Jun Pala of DXOW calls local Redemptorist priests "Redemptorists" While he says not all priests are pro-communist, he singles out the "Redemptorists," and the Maryknoll priests as "communist-leaning."

Alsa Masa members in Agdao have long waged war against the Assumption sisters. They have even painted graffiti on the walls facing the Assumption School urging the Assumption sisters to "wake up" and referring to them as "mga ahente ni Satanas" ['Middlemen of Satan'].

THE local anti-communist campaign is waged on radio, print and TV. Atrocities of the NPA are reported every day. Four weeks ago the *Alsa Masa* began exhuming corpses that they alleged are victims of the New People's Army. As of March 15, skeletal remains of 71 alleged NPA victims had been exhumed.

Last week, Col. Calida showed Armed Forces chief of staff General Ramos a makeshift open cemetery at the Metrodiscom grounds where the exhumations are conducted.

Vice Mayor Rodrigo Duterte has challenged the Presidential Committee on Human Rights (PCHR) to investigate the cases of the alleged NPA victims, "in the light of the present revelations" even as he added that the NPAs must answer the allegations.

A Redemptorist priest, who requested that he not be identified, sizes up the situation in Davao City as a case of "if you're not with us, you must be for them" from the point of view of the military." The priest said that contrary opinions regarding the view that *Alsa Masa* is a solution to the insurgency problem must be studied carefully by the military, instead of being used as a basis for branding a citizen peremptorily as "pro-communist."

"Now, there is no middle line. You are either anti-communist or pro-communist." The situation has placed Davaoenos in the grip of constant tension. "We have been complaining before of military abuses and CHDF abuses. Now you give civilians guns. What is the guarantee against abuses?"

The military claims, he said, that the guns used by the *Alsa Masa* are to be used to defend themselves. "Defending what? Defending themselves against the communists, without improving the lives of the people?" There are several levels of understanding of the NPA within the government, he added. "Some see them as bandits, robbers; others view them as disgruntled citizens; still others regard them as communists. Essentially, however, the problem of insurgency is rooted in the question of poverty and injustice. Necessarily, government must address the roots." The priest also said that "unless you have an alternative for them like land to protect, easy credit, steady jobs, just wages, you can never defeat the NPA. But if these are granted, then you can fight the NPA."

What is going on in Davao City, he says, is "subtle militarism."

Pala, the most popular anti-communist radio commentator here, calls himself the "propagandist" of the *Alsa Masa*, Nakasaka and other

anti-communist groups. He uses psywar in his radio program, he admits.

Pala said he went to Manila last week to attend the convention of the CAUSA INTERNA TIONAL (Confederation of the Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas), allegedly a CIA-backed organization. Pala told *Veritas* he was invited as a guest speaker at the Manila Hotel convention and that he talked about the *Ala Masa*.

No he is not a CAUSA member, he told *Veritas*. "Suspected CIA yan eh. I don't care kung CIA o hindi. Ang sa akin lang ay vang pamphlets."

[That's a suspected CIA outfit, eh. I don't care whether its CIA or not. These are my pamphlets.]

Pala told reporters "I am enjoying my game." He told reporters he is inspired by the "Hitler Experiment." He said: "Hitler succeeded in brain washing the people. When Hitler attacked the communists, Hitler told lies. He repeated the lies until they appeared to be the truth. I am doing the reverse. I repeat all the truths about communism, Marxism, Leninism, make it big, to brain wash the people against communism."

He is neither an *Ala Masa* member nor a *Nakasaka* member. "Basta aye sa akin, propaganda lang."

[What I'm doing is just propaganda.]

/9274

CSO: 4200/493

PHILIPPINES

BRIEFS

COMELEC CONTROL OF ILOCOS SUR URGED--Laban (People's Party) senatorial candidate Letitia Ramos-Shahini yesterday [15 April] urged the Commission on Elections [Comelec] to place the entire province of Ilocos Sur under its control. Ramos-Shahini's move came in the wake of reports that both Comelec and Local Government Secretary Jaime Ferrer pinpointed Ilocos Sur as a potential powderkeg. Shahani said she would welcome a Comelec move to change the entire Constabulary command to preempt possible complaints about the partisanship of some officers and soldiers due to their long tour of duty in the province. She also requested the poll body to designate new election registrars and personnel for the province and the transfer the entire Comelec complement either to La Union or Ilocos Norte. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 15 Apr 87 HK] /9738

CSO: 4200/494

REVIEW CORRESPONDENT DENIED VISA RENEWAL

HK081020 Hong Kong AFP in English 0954 GMT 8 Apr 87

[Text] Hong Kong, 8 Apr (AFP)—Singapore has refused to renew the employment visa of the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW's correspondent in what amounts to an expulsion move, REVIEW editor Derek Davies said here Wednesday.

Nigel Holloway, the REVIEW's Singapore bureau chief, had been informed by Singapore immigration authorities that an application to extend his annual employment permit was refused, Mr Davies said in a statement here.

Mr Davies said no reason was given for the refusal which, he said, "amounts to the expulsion of a professional journalist." The employment permit was due to expire at the end of the month, he said.

The statement said the Hong Kong based REVIEW had been informed unofficially that the refusal was not for anything Mr Holloway had written.

The REVIEW had also been informed that although Singapore authorities were not in agreement with some of Mr Holloway's articles, the magazine had acted "correctly" in publishing responses from Singapore officials, the statement added.

Mr Davies said he was unable to understand the decision of the immigration department in apparently expelling a "highly professional and experienced correspondent."

Mr Holloway has been reporting Singapore affairs for more than four years, formerly for the London ECONOMIST, he said.

Mr Davies said the magazine intended to support Mr Holloway's appeal against the decision, adding that he was awaiting an appointment with a responsible official with whom he intended to discuss the matter and the future of the REVIEW's Singapore bureau.

/9274

CSO: 4200/489

PRIME MINISTER WARNS ON SUPERPOWER RIVALRY

Honiara SOLOMON NIUS in English 20 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

There are already forces now at work in the South Pacific region which could jeopardize the solidarity, the systems of government and the friendly character of the South Pacific peoples.

This statement was made in Parliament by Prime Minister Ezekiel Alebua on March 9 when he introduced the Motion of Adjournment or Sine Die.

"These forces are being seeded into existence by rising superpower rivalry and the intransigent attitude of big powers towards the basic interests of Pacific Islanders," Mr Alebua said.

As a result, he said, some island nations take their own routes to meet their own basic needs because those who should care have not done enough.

One example which the Prime Minister cited in his speech is the decision of the United States of America not to sign the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty protocols.

"This epitomizes the self-centred attitude and a total lack of genuine commitment of that superpower to the interest of smaller island countries," Mr Alebua said.

"The US is now conducting a region-wide campaign using business institutions and academics to try and discredit other rivals in the area," he said.

Prime Minister Alebua said such methods of propaganda are unnecessary because if a great nuclear power refuses to sign a treaty which non-nuclear friendly countries have thought it important and have signed, then that should be enough to indicate that propagandizing would achieve very little.

"USA must be very careful not to push the island nations too far because some nations see US as the biggest threat to their natural resources and social security," he told Parliament.

"As a super-power, the US could still do a lot more for the region if only it could think and act small," Mr Alebua said.

/9274

CSO: 4200/485

FAMILY PLANNING URGED TO CURB POPULATION

Honiara SOLOMON NIUS in English 27 Mar 87 p 1

[Text]

The current Solomon Islands population figure of 285,796 persons with the annual growth rate of 3.5 percent according to the provisional census figures released recently has forced the Minister of Home Affairs Andrew Nori to call for a nation-wide family planning campaign.

He made the call in Parliament during the debate on the motion of Sine Die.

Mr Nori who is a Board member of the Solomon Islands Planned Parenthood Association (SIPPA) said the sole aim of the Campaign would be to educate Solomon Islanders to have small and well planned families.

Having small families does not mean stopping parents from producing children, but idea is to try and reduce heavy financial commitments on parents, he said.

Referring to the 3.5 percent growth

rate, he said, the rate is not compatible with the current poor state of the Solomon Islands' economy.

"It is very important that we must educate some families on family planning technique," the Minister told Parliament.

"Solomon Islands annual population growth rate is the second highest in the world," he said.

The provisional population figure for Solomon Islands released following the November 86 Census showed an increase of 88,973 persons, or 45 percent over the 1976 Census of 196,823 persons.

The annual growth rate was 3.5 percent compared with the 1976 rate of 3.4 percent.

The lowest annual growth rate ever recorded was in 1970 census of 2.6 percent. The total population then was 160,998 persons.

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CSO: 4200/485

UNBRO OFFICIALS TOUR DK CAMPS, WANT FREE ACCESS

BK070127 Bangkok THE NATION in English 7 Apr 87 p 5

[Article by Sinsa Tunsarawut]

[Text] In their first ever "through tour" of four secluded border camps housing Khmer Rouge civilians last month, senior international relief officials were satisfied with what they saw; yet, they still insist on having "regular and unlimited access" to these camps to ensure that humanitarian aid is not diverted to Khmer Rouge troops, diplomatic sources said.

The sources quoted officials of the UN Border Relief Operation (UNBRO) as saying that the Khmers they saw looked healthy. "They were certainly not starving."

However, UNBRO is still concerned that food and medical supplies intended for Khmer civilians might be siphoned off to Khmer Rouge fighters since free access to the four camps is not yet available.

Without free access, UNBRO could not possibly monitor distribution of the supplies.

Informed sources said UNBRO is threatening to cut off supplies to the camps unless "satisfactory result" is achieved in the current negotiations between Khmer Rouge leaders and officials of UNBRO on the issue.

UNBRO is demanding the same privilege its officials enjoy in other encampments of Khmer displaced persons along the border where they can visit any time they want and where they can monitor their aid supplies.

The four camps in question are Huai Chan with 8,000 Khmers and Nathrao with 14,000 in Sisaket Province; Bo Rai with 3,000 and Ban Ta Luan with 4,000, both located in Trat Province.

Y.K. Kim, director of UNBRO; Jamshid Anvar, director of the office of special representative of the Un secretary general for coordination of Kampuchean humanitarian assistance programs; and George Willemin, deputy head of delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) led a team of UNBRO and ICRC officials to visit Nathrao and Huai Chan 9 March.

The visit followed late last month by the medical teams of UNBRO and ICRC to Nathrao, which had been one of the most secluded encampments. Relief agencies are particularly concerned with the camps since it is associated with Ta Mok, the right-hand man of Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot.

UNBRO is under the office of the special representative. ICRC is responsible for protection and medical services of Khmers in eight encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

Late last month, UNBRO Deputy Director Julian Lefevre led another team to visit Bo Rai and Ban Ta Luan. Two diplomats from the Canadian Embassy also visited Nathrao in late March, said John Baker, counselor of the embassy.

The Canadians were the first Western diplomats to have visited any of the four camps in question. Baker said the two Canadian diplomats were allowed to take pictures and talk to the Khmers in the camp. He said Canada, as a donor country to UNBRO, would like to see a clearer separation of civilians and combatants in the Khmer Rouge camps.

He said although he could not confirm whether Khmer Rouge fighters live in those camps, the fighters were seen carrying their weapons in the camp. He said in other Khmer camps, fighters would drop their arms before entering.

He said it would be "foolish" to believe that UNBRO's food supplies were not diverted to Khmer Rouge fighters. "The access issue is important to us since we, the donors, want to know how our money was spent," he said.

Under the UN charter and humanitarian practices UN food aid is given only to civilians, not combatants.

He also said it is possible that UNBRO would cut off its supplies if the problem is not satisfactorily resolved.

Lacy Wright, refugee coordinator of the U.S. Embassy, said although the access issue is a U.S. concern, his staff had not visited any of the four camps and will not do so. He said his embassy has a policy not to visit Khmer Rouge camps.

Sources said other groups of senior officials of international organizations will visit the four camps "very soon."

Sources said it is "principally unacceptable" that relief agencies have to notify Khmer Rouge leaders in advance before their visits to these camps. This is not the case for other camps such as Site 8 of Khmer Rouge civilians in Prachin Buri Province, they said.

The precondition created doubts among relief officials that what they had seen in the camps might be "staged" by the Khmer Rouge. "However, they had to be very good actors if that was a show," the sources quoted UN officials as saying.

UNBRO also wants to have the option of posting officials in the four camps during the daytime and regular access for voluntary agencies. But the possibility is remote for the time being, the sources said.

UNBRO originally set last December as the deadline for cutting off food and medical supplies if the access issue was not resolved. However, the deadline was postponed after Khmer Rouge leaders agreed to start negotiating the issue.

Sources said "substantial progress" has been made in the negotiations and the Khmer Rouge has agreed visits to the camps by relief workers once a week since last December.

Earlier, aid officials could only go to the entrance areas of those camps. Last month's visits by the senior officials were the first time they could thoroughly inspect the camps.

Officials who visited Nathrao on 9 March could also talk to some of the Khmers who were among the 1,700 clandestinely moved from Site 8 to Nathrao in January, sources said.

The interviewed Khmers said they volunteered for the relocation to join their family members at Nathrao. Some of them told the officials that Site 8 is more vulnerable to Vietnamese attack and Nathrao is closer to the passage for their return to Kampuchea.

Baker said his staff reported that some interviewed Khmers said they received more food in Nathrao than in Site 8.

/9738
CSO: 4200/481

UN PROTEST NOTE OVER VIETNAMESE BORDER INTRUSION

BK081250 Bangkok Voice of Free Asia in Thai 1030 GMT 8 Apr 87

[Text] On 4 April, M.L. Phiraphong Kasemsri, Thai ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations in New York, on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand lodged a protest note with the UN secretary general over the recent violations of Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity by Vietnamese troops in Cambodia. The major content of the protest note is as follows:

Since January 1987, hundreds of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia have intruded into Thai territory and occupied hills 408, 382, and 500 in Nam Yun District of Ubon Ratchathani Province. The Vietnamese troops who remained 2 km deep inside Thai territory conducted military operations and planted landmines causing loss of life and property of the Thai Government and people living in the area.

During the period from 25 to 30 March 1987, Vietnam dispatched reinforcements with artillery-shelling support arrived to the area. As the result of the clashes with the Thai side on 25 March 1987, 19 bodies of the Vietnamese aggressors were left inside Thai territory.

From January to March 1987, Vietnamese troops violated Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity on 350 occasions which resulted in the loss of life and property of the innocent Thai people. The Vietnamese military aggression has constituted grave violations of Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity and contradicted the Vietnam Government's statement that it will respect Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Thai Government thus strongly condemns the deliberate hostile acts by the Vietnamese troops and reaffirms its legitimate right to take any action to defend Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the lives and property of the innocent Thai people for which the Vietnamese Government must be held fully responsible.

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CSO: 420C/481

MILITARY OFFICIAL ON BORDER SITUATION IN TRAT PROVINCE

BK071107 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 0530 GMT 7 Apr 87

[Text] The Chanthaburi-Trat Border Defense Force reported that the Vietnamese troops continue their search and suppression operations against the Cambodian patriotic forces inside Cambodia. Captain Prathip Mingmuang, representative of the force, said: [begin recording]

From 19 February to now, the situation along the border has much improved. In Pong Nam Ron District of Chanthaburi Province, 112 artillery rounds landed on the villages along the border on 7 occasions. Nobody was injured. On 2 January, some 100 people left Suan Som village for temporary refuge at Khlong Saeng village on 2 January and returned home on the following day. Military outposts and some equipment at Nong Bon village were slightly damaged.

In Trat Province, our patrol unit clashed with a band of 15 foreign soldiers in the vicinity of Huang Som village in Khlong Yai District on 24 February. The clash lasted about 15 minutes before the enemy retreated. No casualties were suffered by our side.

Our outposts at Chan Tak village were fired on by snipers twice on 28 February and 10 March and at Hat Lek village in Khlong Yai District on 19 and 23 February and '0 and 13 March. A villager at Hat Lek village was seriously wounded by machinegun fire and later sent for treatment to Khlong Yai Hospital.

During the period under review, 40 shells landed in Trat Province on 7 occasions compared to 700 shells landing in the area last month. Nobody was injured. Farms and border patrol police shelters were slightly damaged. [end recording]

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CSO: 4200/481

GENERAL SAYS SHANS PUSHED 10 KM FROM BORDER

BK110155 Bangkok THE NATION in English 11 Apr 87 p 3

[Text] Only three government troops were killed in a major month-long operation against the Shan State Army (SSA) of drug kingpin Khun Sa which wound up at the end of last month after the minority force pulled back deeper into the Burmese territory, about 10 kms from the border opposite Chiang Mai.

Third Army Region Commander Lt Gen Siri Thawiphan told reporters that the three were killed in an explosion of a landmine planted by Burmese rebel fighters on Doi Lang of Mae Ai District last month. No government soldiers were injured in the operation launched in February to dislodge the SSA force from the mountainous terrain on the border, he added.

He said the operation succeeded in dislodging the rebel force and pushed them back across the border to an area about 10 kms from Thai territory.

"The SSA force does not pose a security problem to Thailand any more," he said. Following the operation, the regional army moved a unit of rangers to the mountain to provide security to construction workers building roads as part of a development program in the sensitive area to prevent the resurgence of Khun Sa's influence, he said.

Lt Gen Siri said that the regional army was establishing authority over Doi Lang by putting up military checkpoints along the routes leading to the mountain and reorganizing the villagers residing in the area.

"I am proud that we have finally brought back peace to the Thai territory there," he said.

The regional army chief added that the Third Army Region had set up a center that will streamline the efforts by related agencies to control all the minority groups, maintain security and crack down on drug trafficking in the North.

The center will dispatch troops to various checkpoints throughout the border region, he said.

Lt Gen Siri added that the center plans to evacuate hilltribe people from reserved forests to the plain areas to prevent them from destroying the fertile forests.

He said he believed that the situation in the North would gradually improve with the establishment of the center.

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CSO: 4200/481

ENHANCED SECURITY FOR OFFICIALS IN SOUTH REPORTED

BK130203 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 13 Apr 87 p 2

[Text] The Fourth Army Region has agreed to restructure the combined Civilian-Police-Military 43 unit (Po-To-Tho 43) to improve security coordination among officials in the five southernmost provinces.

Army sources said the move was likely to include the appointment of an army general to head the unit now being commanded by a colonel.

The sources said the appointment was viewed as essential by senior army officers in the South who believed that it would help create unity and improve efficiency in dealing with security problems in the South.

The unit, whose responsibility covers the five southernmost provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani, Yala, Songkhla and Satun, was formed in 1981 by a prime minister's office order.

The unit was headed by the fifth division commander--a major-general--when it was first founded. However, the unit's command was given to a colonel during Gen Nan Linanon's term as the southern army chief.

The sources said there was a consensus among senior army officers that the fifth division commander should take over the helm of Po-To-Tho 43 because he was also the commander of the Combined Thai-Malaysian Task Force (Thai) whose main responsibility was to suppress communist insurgents operating along the Thai-Malaysian border.

Po-To-Tho 43 is also responsible for communist suppression.

"If the same person is the commander of the two units it will help strengthen cooperation and coordination among concerned officials in the area. The present structure has confused officials who are trying to solve the same problem," commented one army officer.

The restructuring, said the sources, would enable the unit to better cooperate with provincial authorities.

Since the fifth division commander, a major-general, was more senior than a colonel, he should be able to work more effectively with provincial governors and the director of the Southern Administrative Center who were very senior government officials, the sources said.

RICE EXPORTER QUESTIONS U.S. 'SINCERITY'

BK030231 Bangkok THE NATION in English 3 Apr 87 p 18

[Text] The president of the Thai Rice Exporters Association has strongly questioned the sincerity of the United States Government towards Thailand through its announcements of unchanged "world rice price" under the Farm Act for 11 consecutive weeks.

Saman Opatwong made the comment against the rising prices of Thai rice during the past few months and the renewal of verbal criticisms against the U.S. by both Thai officials and rice exporters.

Saman last week discussed the rice issue with Gorden E. Dore, the chairman of Louisiana-based Supreme Rice Mill Inc, at the Dusit Thani Hotel.

Saman was critical of the U.S. policy in maintaining its "world rice price" despite the price increases of Thai rice. He said the U.S. has argued that the price of Thai rice has risen only in the domestic market due to intervention by the Thai Government while there have been no changes in the international market.

Saman cited the U.S. argument as a reflection of its insincerity towards Thailand. He explained that Thai export prices must also rise if the cost here has increased. "Without adjustment on the part of the U.S. we will face a lot of difficulties," he added.

He disclosed that the U.S. has already sold a lot of rice this year, amounting to about two million tons which is the normal export volume of that country.

Coupled with less stock in Burma and Pakistan, Thailand has a good prospect of exporting its rice in the upcoming buying season where sale volume is expected to increase and prices will be favorable since there would be no competitors.

The association president also disclosed that countries in the Middle East and Africa have expressed interest in buying 25 percent rice and broken rice from Thailand. The primary estimated order for broken rice is 80,000 tons.

But these buyers have not placed firm orders since the prices are still relatively high. The last government-to-government selling price was U.S. \$135 FOB per ton.

He said the apathy on the part of the U.S. has undermined the ability of Thailand to export more rice which will have a severe impact on Thai farmers. Saman was hoping that farmers would at least earn 2,800 baht per kwian [1 metric ton] for their paddy.

Saman voiced his support for the existing rice export policy of the Commerce Ministry under which rice is bought for exporters at high prices, enabling the latter to pay more to millers who in turn can afford to buy paddy at a higher price from farmers.

He also said in response to a move to set the country's rice export target at four million tons that the target should be flexible and the situation should determine whether to speed up rice export during the beginning of the harvesting season.

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CSO: 4200/481

INTEREST RATES REDUCED FOR TEXTILE EXPORTS TO U.S.

BK090211 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 9 Apr 87 p 13

[Text] The Bank of Thailand yesterday reduced the interest rate on rediscount facilities for textile exports to the United States and for local contractors awarded government construction projects.

A central bank spokesman said the bank would now charge commercial banks 9.5 percent interest per annum for rediscount facilities to exporters of textile products specifically destined for the U.S., while the commercial bank would, in turn, charge the exporters 11.5 percent interest. The new rate became effective on 1 April.

Prior to this, the Central Bank collected 11 percent interest from commercial banks which, in turn, charged exporters 13 percent.

The spokesman said the reduction on textile exports to the U.S. was in accordance with the current lending rates charged by commercial banks.

The Central Bank would adjust the interest on rediscount facilities for textile exporters to the U.S. every six months according to the situation.

The adjustment of the rediscount facilities came after local textile exporters signed a suspension agreement with U.S. authorities a few years back saying they would not accept any subsidies provided by the Thai Government.

The Central Bank also announced it would charge commercial banks 10 percent interest per annum on rediscount facilities for local contractors awarded government construction projects. The commercial banks would, in turn, collect 11.5 percent interest.

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CSO: 4200/481

FIGURES ON JAN-MAR TRADE DEFICIT

BK080215 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 8 Apr 87 p 15

[Text] Thailand suffered a trade deficit of about 4,500 million baht in the first quarter of this year, up about 112 percent from 2,114.8 million baht in January-March 1986, Business Economics Department Director-General Somphon Kiatphaibun said yesterday.

He added that the increase was mainly the result of imports rising by 11 percent.

Mr Somphon said that although the export value went up to 60,600 million baht, 7 percent or 4,018 million baht higher than a year ago, the increase was smaller than last year. He said the import value, meanwhile, soared to 65,100 million baht, up 11 percent or 6,404 million baht.

He said the value of ready-made garment exports increased by 57 percent, tapioca products 17 percent, rubber 35 percent, gems and precious stones 61 percent, frozen chicken 36 percent, footwear 26 percent and frozen fish 31 percent.

He said the higher values were due to increased demand for these products and because Thailand had successfully opened up new markets overseas.

"Our ready-made garments are expected to have a brighter future this year as more quotas are being provided by the European Community and the United States," he explained.

Mr Somphon also said that while Thailand saw an increase in the export value from the industrial sector, it suffered major drops in various agricultural exports.

In the first quarter of this year, he said, the value of rice exports fell by 18 percent, maize 66 percent, sugar 45 percent, tin 26 percent and canned pineapple 7 percent.

Regarding imports, he said, most of these were raw materials and semi-finished products, whose value went up by about 27 percent.

He added that there was also an increase of about 19 percent in the value of capital goods imports and 6 percent in the import value of transport equipment.

He said Thailand also suffered from the higher import value of consumer products which soared by 25 percent, but he noted that the country was doing fine in terms of oil imports.

He said the country's oil imports in the first quarter of this year were 23 percent lower than in January-March 1986 despite the higher value of crude oil as a result of an agreement among OPEC members, noting that the current value of crude oil is still below the average cost of last year.

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CSO: 4200/481

KHUKRIT, CHAWALIT CONTROVERSY GENERATES MEETINGS, REACTIONS

Khukrit Receives Army Officers

BK060940 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 6 Apr 87 pp 1, 32

[Text] While the Rangers were rallying outside the flimsy gate of his residence, M.R. Khukrit Pramot received about 30 visitors from the army at around 10 a.m. yesterday.

Among the army officers were those with the positions of battalion commander from the 1st, 2nd, and 9th divisions, cavalry division, artillery division and anti-aircraft division.

The group, which met privately with M.R. Khukrit, was led by Anti-aircraft Battalion Commander of the 1st Infantry Division, Lt-Col Suraphan Phumkaeo; Communications Battalion Commander of the 1st Infantry Division, Lt-Col Chongsak Phanitkun and 19th Battalion Commander of the 9th Infantry Division, Col Chalong Chotiyakham.

They informed M.R. Khukrit that they came with a good intention because they thought M.R. Khukrit's writing and speeches concerning the Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Chavalit Yongchayut were creating general misunderstanding and chaos.

Therefore, M.R. Khukrit should clarify his remarks otherwise more soldiers could come to the M.R. Khukrit's house day in and day out, and not just the Rangers.

At this point, M.R. Khukrit reported, "has the country come to this already?" "No, but it is beyond our control," the officers replied, saying further that they came to plead with M.R. Khukrit not to write or speak anymore about such things and that they would be satisfied if he would only publicly declare that the army chief was not a communist.

'Green Light' for Rangers' Demonstration

BK060956 Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 6 Apr 87 pp 1, 32

[Text] Rangers received the "green light" from their commanding officers to hold the protest in front of M.R. Khukrit Pramot's house, Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Chavalit Yongchayut said.

Upon his arrival from an inspection tour to the Northeast yesterday evening, reporters asked the army chief whether the Rangers' commanding officers knew of their plan to stage a protest against M.R. Khukrit. "Of course," Gen Chawalit said, "with that many people gathered, they must have known it, but I still don't know how much they were involved."

The army chief said he received the report about the protest yesterday afternoon and immediately relayed his thanks to his subordinates for feeling hurt on his behalf, but he said he also told them that it should not be done that way because it was not a wise move.

He said he wanted everyone to remain calm and try to understand one another, and that whatever happened in the past should now cease.

Gen Chawalit said he believed such an incident will not occur again because he believed that M.R. Khukrit did not have any ill intention towards him but only that the former prime minister's words were unclear and upset the Rangers.

"I am sorry about what happened and will try to prevent it from ever occurring again," the army chief said.

"If all soldiers were alike, the situation would have been very normal, but it is not an easy task - running 30,000-400,000 men who possess different lines of thoughts," he said; "they are all entitled to their ideas."

Asked whether disciplinary actions would be taken against the Rangers, Gen Chawalit said there would first be an investigation and if it is found that there had been an instigation, some positive actions would have to be taken.

This morning, Chief Inspector of Thung Nakhonk police and some officers came to M.R. Khukrit's residence to file a report of yesterday's incident and to take down complaints.

However, M.R. Khukrit declined to file any charges, saying that there has been no damage to his properties. He also went on to laud the police for their prompt and decisive action which was a result of intensive preparation on the part of the police.

A stream of well-wishers, including Deputy Prime Minister Phong Sarasin, also showed up at the Soi Suan Phlu residence to express encouragement for the elder statesman. Those who called in to offer their moral support included M.R. Khukrit's estranged wife, M.L. Phukhring Thongyai, who called from Chiang Mai.

Also this morning, M.R. Khukrit ceased his repeated attacks on the army chief but continued his criticism of the government in his daily Soi Suan Phlu column in SIAM RAT newspaper.

In today's issue of SIAM RAT, the elder statesman wrote an unusually short column commenting on major headlines of various Thai-language newspapers and concluding that his column today was short because he had been involved with too many short-sighted people.

Yesterday, after his meeting with high-ranking army officers at his residence, M.R. Khukrit asserted that, in his opinion, Gen Chawalit was not a communist.

The former prime minister told a press conference after the departure of a group of army officers that the officers, who came to see him at 10:30 a.m. yesterday, told him that his speech concerning the army chief and the communists had resulted in a misunderstanding in the army and also the entire country that Gen Chavalit was a communist.

"I am very sorry because I never uttered the words that the army chief is a communist," M.R. Khukrit said; "I never said it. And until now, I also don't believe it.

"I can sincerely say that the (Gen Chavalit) is not a communist in my eyes; what I said about communists was derived solely from documents which were sent to me and of which I'm entitled to my own interpretation," he said.

M.R. Khukrit also stressed that he had not been coerced to say so by the army officers. "I can surmise by myself whether my writing or my speeches may have led to misunderstanding and chaos in some quarters. And if that is so, then I'm very sorry because it was not my intention to let that happen," he said.

Yesterday, about 250 Rangers demonstrated outside M.R. Khukrit's residence and demanded he apologize for what they understood to be an allegation that Gen Chavalit was a "communist."

The Rangers, from Pak Thong Chai, Nakhon Ratchasima, arrived in Bangkok before dawn in five buses and a pick-up. They disembarked outside the United States Information Service and marched to M.R. Khukrit's Soi Phra Phinit house through Soi Thian Siang at about 7 a.m.

Using a bullhorn, some of the apparently unarmed Rangers verbally abused the veteran politician, and demanded he appear before them and apologize to Gen Chavalit.

The mood of the Rangers was apparent in their banners, some of which bore the slogans: "My father was bullied, I cannot tolerate," "How many of our bones have been buried," "We fight for the motherland, you destroy."

One Ranger, who declined to be identified, claimed they were protesting against M.R. Khukrit's house at their own initiative. "We came by ourselves," he said.

Academic Comments on Controversy

HK101118 Bangkok STAM RAT in Thai 8 Apr 87 p 2

[Text] On 1 April, the Institute on International Security Studies of Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Political Science held a panel discussion on "Thai Politics at the Cross Roads" at the Erawan Hotel. M.R. Khukrit Pramot was also invited to speak.

In the wake of the discussion, there has been criticism that M.R. Khukrit accused Army Chief General Chavalit Yongchayut of being communist. This led to the protest of a group of about 300 rangers from Nakhon Si Thammarat Province in front of M.R. Khukrit's house, and the call by a number of army officers asking M.R. Khukrit to stop writing and speaking in the way that is destructive to the army.

Associate Professor M.R. Sukhumphan Boriphat, who was an organizer of the discussion and responsible for selecting the topic of the discussion as well as inviting panelists, contacted SIAM RAT to give some explanation about the panel discussion planned by him and his academic views regarding the discussion on that day. He said he was worried by the incident and would like immediately to give an explanation, but he was delayed by his business upcountry.

[SIAM RAT] I learned that you were so worried because you are an organizer of the discussion.

[Sukhumphan] First of all I must clear up some major points concerning Achan Khukrit's remark about Gen Chavalit. Now about the panel discussion, the Institute on International Security Studies of which I am a staff member is an academic institute for research concerning international affairs and security. It has no political affiliation. In all the talks, we fix the topics for panelists, but we let them speak freely. Our purpose is to hold a forum for panelists to air their opinions. Our panel discussion is therefore not a political movement. We did not know in advance what Khukrit was going to talk about. Our main purpose is to hold a forum for opinions.

There was also a rumor saying that I am an activist. This is not true. I am a full academic. In the wake of the army commander's comment about the revolution, I have been invited for talks at Thammasat University many times, but I have refused. I refuse to talk when I do not have sufficient facts or material to formulate academic views and make the analysis. Besides, I am not involved in politics. Well, I have cleared up about holding the panel discussion and the remarks made by Achan Khukrit.

Achan Khukrit has never said that the army chief is a communist. On the contrary, he stated many times during the discussion that the army commander is loyal to the monarchy. Achan Khukrit did not mention about the army commander in his prepared lecture, but a question was put to him and he had to mention the army chief in his answer.

Another important point I must make is that Achan Khukrit did not attack the military institution during the talk. He said that there is a clear-cut pattern in Thai history--the military is the most powerful body in Thai politics. He did not attack the military institution. I must clear up those points.

[SIAM RAT] How do you personally interpret the incident?

[Sukhumphan] I do not agree with Achan Khukrit on several matters. Yet, I consider what happened after the panel discussion not correct. First, I think it is not right for some military officers to consider that any criticism of them constitutes a criticism of the military institution. An individual does not represent the institution, and the institution is above the individuals. An individual cannot be placed above the institution. Second, some military leaders made it known, even before Achan Khukrit gave his talk, that the military institution is above criticism because it belongs to the people. This again is not correct. If the military institution really belongs to the people, it must be exposed to public criticism, especially constructive criticism. Next, what is not correct is the use of state apparatus for repression of an ordinary individual. It is not correct for the Rangers

to intimidate Achan Khukrit like that. Gen Chavalit will have to do something because it is not the business of the rangers to be in Bangkok. Now concerning Achan Khukrit's remarks, I agree with him that Gen Chavalit is not a communist. In my opinion, it is impossible for an officer trained at the Chunlachonkla Military Academy to be a communist. It is impossible for officers trained politically as well as socially to become communist.

Meanwhile, I think that the army commander may have been influenced by various sources of thinking, and what he is trying to do is to put them together for use. The result of it may lead some people to think that he is adopting communism. In other words, the army commander did not make himself clear in what he advocated. He also often used communist terms, such as revolution, and unaware front members, for example. The vocabulary he used made people wonder whether he is a communist himself. I think Gen Chavalit has to clear up this matter. He can explain to the people about his purposes and intentions so that they will no longer be suspicious.

[SIAM RAT] Will the show of strength by the military become an obstacle to the academics' expression of their thinking?

[Sukhumphan] I think there will be no big change on the academic scene if this trend does not continue. I think we will be guided by our common sense finally. I think we all understand that we cannot let the situation get worse.

Anyway, what makes me really unhappy is that several leaders are now trying to exploit the incident in order to achieve unity among the military. Achan Khukrit did not attack the military institution. He did not criticize the military in his speech. But the report was twisted. I think that it is unlikely for Achan Khukrit to criticize the military institution because I believe he realizes how important the military is for the country. Yet, his speech was twisted, and this is what worries me. Some may be exploiting this incident for certain ends. Anyway, I believe we should not be so frightened. Our leaders must still have their commonsense and I believe they will not let the situation get worse.

[SIAM RAT] How do the academics interpret soldiers' demonstration at M.R. Khukrit's house?

[Sukhumphan] I do not think that they wanted to please their master. I do not think that Gen Chavalit knew in advance. I think it was the plan of his subordinates. It has tarnished the image of Gen Chavalit. Anyway, those soldiers must have gotten the greenlight from their commanders as the whole incident was well prepared, from transportation to food supply. It needs an order from a particular level of officer to enable 300 rangers to leave their barracks.

In my opinion, what is alarming is that there is an idea that the military is inviolable. Anyway, I think that most officers do not hold that view although they hold the military institution as sacred. I believe that most officers realize that there is only one institution which is inviolable, and that is the monarchy. Yet there exist some military leaders who try to make the military institution as high as the monarchy, and think the military too is inviolable --is above criticism, that is, to criticize the military means you have betrayed the nation. That kind of thinking, I cannot accept.

The problems of the Prem S Government, the problems it is facing in Parliament, the comments made by Thirayut Bumr [former student activist], or by other academics have been linked with each other making an overall picture that there is an effort to topple Gen Chavalit. They are trying to link unrelated incidents. They think that those incidents are related to each other and conclude that there is an effort to topple Gen Chavalit. Therefore, when anything happened, those supporting Gen Chavalit reacted swiftly and strongly, what is called an overreaction. In fact, nobody attacked the military institution. Nobody thinks that the military institution is useless. Nobody ignored the service by soldiers defense of the country's borders. Nobody said such a thing. Why are they so sensitive about that. I think this is too much.

It is impossible to say that criticism of the military means you are criticizing the people and you have betrayed the nation. This is something unacceptable.

Rangers' Protest 'Bad Precedent'

BK070116 Bangkok THE NATION in English 7 Apr p 4

[Editorial: "Ranger Protest Sets A Bad Precedent"]

[Text] The noisy protest of army Rangers at the residence of former premier M.R. Khukrit Pramot last Sunday morning set a bad precedent of using mob rule to intimidate political opponents. We strongly deplore it.

The Rangers said they were angry with M.R. Khukrit for insinuating that Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Chavalit Yongchayut "is a communist" and that the army chief has been "brainwashed" by ex-communists who are his advisers in the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC). They demanded that M.R. Khukrit retract the insinuation. And M.R. Khukrit did tell reporters after the incident that he never said Gen Chavalit was a communist.

So, what is the problem?

The problem is neither side in this dispute wanted to admit that the real issue is not the superficial insinuation. The real issue is a power struggle between M.R. Khukrit and Prime Minister Gen Prem Tinsulanon.

M.R. Khukrit has not minced his words in his criticism of Prem. M.R. Khukrit has written several articles in his Soi Suan Phlu column in SITEM RAT attacking Prem on several issues, including the reference to HM [his majesty] the King's remark about a Thai-style democracy, the overseas trip of Prem to Egypt and three European countries, and the drought.

It is also no secret that Gen Chavalit is trying to defend Prem. Thus, Gen Chavalit stands in M.R. Khukrit's way and inevitably he takes some flack from M.R. Khukrit.

Every one has the right to express opinion and show loyalty to one's boss, provided that one does it within the limits of the law. M.R. Khukrit certainly has the right to criticize the premier, although we sometimes doubt whether he has not over-played his role as an elder statesman who has publicly declared to wash his hands of politics for good.

Gen Chawalit also has the right to defend Prem who is his mentor. And the Rangers also have the right to show their loyalty to Gen Chawalit who is the founding father of the Ranger force.

However, it is blatantly wrong to send 300 uniformed soldiers to shout insults at somebody whose political views you happen to disagree with. Worse still, Gen Chawalit and the commander of the rangers seemed to have condoned the show of force by implying that no disciplinary action will be taken against the rangers because they were simply "showing their personal feelings."

The melee last Sunday [5 April] would only give M.R. Khukrit new ammunition to fire at Prem. For it is unthinkable in a democratic country that such a large number of uniformed soldiers could move around and insult people at will--without prior knowledge of either the army chief or the premier.

If those who organized Sunday's protest could escape scot free, the country's law and order will certainly come under serious doubt. Other groups may also want to take the law into their own hands and show their "loyalty" or "patriotism."

We don't think our country will prosper under such circumstances. The premier must take action to show that he is in charge of the government.

For a change, we want to see the army stay put and Prem do the talking.

Comments by Dailies

BK081015 [Editorial Report] Three Thai language dailies--NAEO NA, MATICHON, and THAI RAT--on 7 and 8 April carry editorials on the demonstration which was staged by some 300 Army Rangers in front of former Prime Minister M.R. Khukrit Pramot's Soi Suan Phlu residence in Bangkok on 5 April.

NAEO NA on 7 April carries on page 3 an editorial entitled: "A Lesson from the Conflict." The editorial says: "The conflict between the military and politicians has now surfaced to a certain extent. We feel much relieved to see both M.R. Khukrit Pramot and General Chawalit Yongchaiyut decide to put an end to the issue."

Continuing, the paper recalls how the two persons became involved in the bickering and says that the army commander can bring the case to court if he feels that M.R. Khukrit's remarks have caused him damage. "The protest rally is unacceptable because it allows mob rule to override the country's laws. Moreover, the hot-tempered rally made Thailand look like the country of lawlessness."

The editorial notes that violence can only turn politicians into heroes and many politicians are willing even to sacrifice their lives for such a purpose.

The paper concludes by saying: "We appeal to the military to be more careful not to let the conflict drag on endlessly. Gen Chawalit has done the right thing by refusing to argue with politicians. His subordinates must learn from his struggle so that they will not fall into the trap and be branded as the destroyers of democracy."

MATICHON on 7 April carries on page 6 an editorial entitled: "For the Sake of Justice, Correctness, and Future of Thailand" which says that the Rangers' protest "insulted the spirit of democracy and disregarded the country's laws". However, M.R. Khukrit Pramot's remarks can also be construed to mean that Gen Chawalit Yongchayut is a communist. "The charge is quite serious as the Communist Prevention Act is still valid."

The editorial says that the incident indicated that Army Commander Gen Chawalit is enjoying "full support" from his subordinates in the Army, in particular among the Rangers. It is believed that as a democratic soldier, Gen Chawalit will not be pleased with any attempt to turn the ranger force into "his personal army."

"It is regrettable that a number of Gen Chawalit's subordinates do not understand their commander's democratic spirit and thus fail to properly show their loyalty and respect to him. Instead of allowing themselves to be used as a tool to fight for democracy and against incorrectness, they turned to project the image of dictatorship. Although the Rangers and their superiors merely intended to defend their boss, what they have done can be harmful to him. They have created an image for him similar to that of General Prem Tinsulanon who is inviolable and always stays above criticism."

The editorial expresses its surprise over the fact that both Army Commander Gen Chawalit and Prime Minister Gen Prem have been acting indifferently regarding the incident.

MATICHON on 8 April, on page 6, carries an editorial entitled: "He Called for the Prime Minister" which says that when some 200 Rangers staged the noisy demonstration in front of M.R. Khukrit Pramot's house, Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon was playing golf. The organizer of the game even asked reporters not to "disturb" the premier by raising any question about the Rangers' rally. Since M.R. Khukrit Pramot once served as the country's prime minister, he should be treated as an important figure. "Although no violent incident occurred, General Prem Tinsulanon, in his capacity as head of the administrative branch, should give special attention to the event unless he or his men were behind this matter. It was an act of violation of personal rights or a crisis caused by the paramilitary Rangers, who are paid with the people's tax money, threatening to assault a citizen as if he were an enemy of the country or criminal".

The paper continues: The people want "a prime minister who can really function as head of the administrative branch, be responsible for the well-being of the people, and has the courage to face problems. He must not float above conflicts while accepting only praise and pushing the blame off on other people. The present circumstances call for a brave and wise leader who is willing to serve and solve problems for the people."

THAI RAT on 8 April carries on page 3 an editorial entitled: "Khukrit's Reaction" which says: Following the Army Ranger's protest rally in front of his house on the morning of 5 April, M.R. Khukrit Pramot declared that he had never said that the army commander was a communist. Since M.R. Khukrit is a veteran politician, academician, and also a scholar, he is the only person

who knows the crux of the problem well. Nobody knows if he intentionally made the remark for any purpose or not. The problem which we have now can affect the interests of the people in the whole country, therefore, it should be solved through democratic means.

The editorial concludes by saying: "M.R. Khukrut Pramot might want to solve the problems the way he feels most correct. But other people also have their own way of doing things. Differences of opinion are permissible but we must sincerely listen to reasons of other people."

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CSO: 4200/481

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COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BRUNEI FOREIGN MINISTER THANKS KHIEU SAMPHAN

BK110546 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] On 10 April 1987, His Excellency Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs, received a letter dated 17 March 1987 from Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, minister of foreign affairs of Brunei Darussalam, in reply to Khieu Samphan's greetings message on Brunei's national day. The letter read in full as follows:

To His Excellency Khieu Samphan, vice president of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of foreign affairs:

I deeply thank your excellency for your message of greetings and best wishes sent to me on the occasion of the national day of Brunei Darussalam.

I would like to confirm, your excellency, that I will do anything possible to help the CGDK in its efforts to seek a political settlement to the Cambodian problem.

I highly value your excellency's kind words and expression of friendship and cooperation.

Please accept my most sincere and highest regards.

[dated] 17 March 1987

[signed] Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, minister of foreign affairs of Brunei Darussalam

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CSO: 4200/481

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

DRY-SEASON RICE PLANTING--Phnom Penh, 3 Apr (SPK)--More than 4,400 hectares of dry-season rice were transplanted during the last week of March. The overall areas under cultivation throughout the country have so far reached 111,360 hectares, or 3,180 hectares more than the same period of the previous year. Of this figure, 88,000 hectares come from Takeo, Kandal, Prey Veng, and Kompong Cham provinces, which are continuing to transplant rice. Other provinces such as Stung Treng, Preah Vihear, and Kompong Speu, where the planted areas for this season are limited, have fulfilled or exceeded their plans. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in French 0359 GMT 3 Apr 87 BK] /9738

KOMPONG CHAM TOWN ATTACKED--Kompong Cham battlefield: On the night of 27 March, our National Army, in cooperation with individuals and patriotic Cambodian soldiers, attacked Kompong Cham provincial town and dismantled Vietnamese administrative networks in Kompong Siem District adjoining the provincial town. The attack was launched in three prongs. The first prong attacked the Vietnamese enemy at Banteay Chup and Boeng Kok in Kompong Cham town; the second prong attacked and dismantled Vietnamese administrative networks in Ro-Ang commune; and the third prong attacked and dismantled Vietnamese administrative networks in Triem commune. After a 20-minute battle we killed 6, including a battalion commander, and wounded 10 Vietnamese enemy soldiers; destroyed an army vehicle, 2 barracks, and some war materiel; seized 8 AK's and 300 rounds of AK ammunition; and liberated 2 communes, Ro-Ang and Triem, and 9 villages, Boeng Kok, Anlung Svay, Balang, Veal Khsach, Thmar Koul, Chraneang, Pongro, Sarai, and Tuol Srach. We also freed 10 Cambodian soldiers and 8 administrative officials. [From the "Daily Report From Various Battlefields" feature] [Excerpt] [(Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 4 Apr 87 BK] /9738

TRAIN DESTROYED NEAR BATTAMBANG--Battlefield south of Battambang town: On 31 March, a Vietnamese train carrying military material from Pursat to Battambang was hit by four of our mines at Phniev. A locomotive and 16 railroad cars were derailed; 10 Vietnamese soldiers on the train were killed and another 15 wounded; and 25 assorted weapons, including a 12.7 mm machine gun, 2 B-41's, 3 B-40's, an RPK, 2 RPD's, and 16 AK's, and a large quantity of war materiel were destroyed. The next day, 1 April, Vietnamese soldiers came out from Phniev and Kouk Trom to inspect the train; two of them were killed and another three were wounded by our mines. Furthermore, we destroyed 25 meters of railroad track. [From the "Daily Report from Various Battlefields" feature] [Excerpt] [(Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian 2315 GMT 6 Apr 87 BK] /9738

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

FOREIGN MINISTER ATTENDS LOCAL TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

BK100959 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 10 Mar 87

[Text] The third local trade union conference was solemnly held at the Foreign Ministry Conference Hall on the morning of 9 April. For one full day, the conference participants attentively listened to the report read by Comrade (Long Kem), secretary of the local trade union, and discussed and fully ratified the report as well as plans to be implemented during the new term. The conferees voted a 9-man committee of the local trade union to carry out tasks during the new term.

Speaking on this occasion, Comrade Kong Korm, member of the KPRP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, praised the achievements made by cadres, personnel, and workers during the third term. He urged the newly elected committee members to correctly and effectively implement all the statutes of the Kampuchean Federation of Trade Unions and to successfully carry out all the resolutions of this conference. In particular, he urged them to improve their own living conditions and to emulate in developing the ideas of thrift, ingenuity, and industry among the groups and departments.

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CSO: 4200/481

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

FOOD PURCHASES FROM PEOPLE--By the end of the 1st quarter of 1987, more than 62 percent of the plan to purchase food from the people had been carried out. In other words, more than 178,560 metric tons of paddy were bought from the people and more than 47,700 other metric tons of paddy were received as patriotic dues from the peasants. Compared with the same period last year, this represents an increase of more than 100,000 metric tons. Phnom Penh and Preah Vihear Province took the lead in fulfilling this food-purchasing obligation with Phnom Penh overfulfilling its plan by 32 percent and Preah Vihear Province exceeding its plan by nearly 32 percent. As for Koh Kong Province, it has fulfilled only 40 percent of its plan. The remaining provinces have all fulfilled more than half of their plans. [Excerpt] [Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 0430 GMT 12 Apr 87 HK] /9738

CSO: 4200/481

LINI ON FRENCH SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION

BK110728 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0500 GMT 11 Apr 87

[Text] Vanuatu's prime minister, Father Walter Lini, claims that French financial aid is being given to the parliamentary opposition in a hope of bringing about the defeat of the ruling Vanuaaku Party in the elections due next November.

In an interview with a magazine, ISLANDS BUSINESS, published in Suva, Father Lini said the French administration in New Caledonia had agreed to give the union of moderate parties the equivalent of about U.S.\$45,000. He said the money could be easily sent through Vanuatu's offshore banking facilities.

The prime minister claimed the union of moderate parties which is composed of French-speaking members of parliament had approached France for direct financial assistance. Father Lini warned the opposition that it would be dangerous for it to campaign from such a position, particularly in view of the fact that France had for the second successive year cut aid to Vanuatu because of its policies in regard to New Caledonia.

Asked about moves from within his own party to oust him following the stroke he suffered recently during a visit to the United States, Father Lini said he would not resist although he was prepared to continue as a back-bench member of parliament. However, he said he felt capable of continuing as Vanuatu's leader if that was what the people wanted.

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CSO: 4200/486

THACH CHALLENGES U.S. ON BASES

Quezon City ANC PAHAYAGANG MALAYA in English 7 Apr 87 p 7

[Text]

Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has challenged the United States to give up its military bases in the Philippines and Australia if the US believes that Southeast Asia should be free of facilities of foreign powers.

In a statement furnished Malaya yesterday by the Vietnam embassy in Manila, Thach said the embassy will ask the Soviet Union to stop using Russian facilities at Cam Ranh Bay for its ship repair if the Americans will pull out from the Philippines and Australia.

Thach's remarks were prompted by the revival of the Cam Ranh Bay issue by the Americans recently.

During a media tour of the Subic Naval Base last March 25, the Subic public affairs director, Maj. J.D. Van Sickle, said they have photographs showing heavily-armed Soviet ships docked at Cam Ranh Bay.

The photographs, published in the March 5 issue of the American paper *Stars and Stripes*, allegedly showed Echo-2 cruise missile submarines, surface-to-surface missile ships, Bear aircraft, Badger

strike bombers and MiG-23 fighter interceptor aircraft.

Thach said: "We have the right to allow friendly powers use of the facilities. But now, if our neighbors are afraid of these facilities, we propose that all foreign powers keep away from this area but they rejected it (the proposal)."

The rejection of Vietnam's proposal by its neighboring countries, Thach said, could only mean that "they're not afraid of it (the use of Cam Ranh Bay by the Soviets). They have interests in maintaining the bases of America here and the military presence of China in this area. If they're afraid, deeply concerned, then why did they reject the proposal?"

Thach said it is really up to Southeast Asian countries to decide whether they want all foreign powers to keep off their soil or not. As far as Vietnam is concerned, Thach said it will respect the decision of the Southeast Asia countries on this matter.

Thach reiterated that there are no Soviet bases in his country.

"We will never grant any country the right to have bases in our country. Of course, if someone is out to project the dark side of any issue, it's his problem," he added.

He said it is quite unfair to accuse Vietnam of allowing the Soviets to hold amphibious exercises in the country. He said this is only "routine" and in line with the treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union signed in 1978.

He said the Americans, jointly with the Armed Forces of the Philippines, hold jungle exercises in the Philippines.

Lastly, Thach said Vietnam did not "trade" the presence of one "super-power" for another.

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CSO: 4200/501a

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS DECEMBER 86, JANUARY 87

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English Feb 87 p 32

[Text]

(13 December 1986 — 11 January 1987)

DECEMBER

16. A Hungarian Communist Youth Union delegation, headed by Hanoi Chiba, Political Bureau member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary and First Secretary of the Youth Union Central Committee, ends its visit to Vietnam, begun on 13 December.

19—20. Hanoi: Holding of a ceremony at which the October Revolution Order, the exalted decoration of the Soviet Union, is conferred on Pham Van Dong and Le Duc Tho; the Angkor Order, the highest decoration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, on Le Duc Tho, and the Jose Marti Order, the highest decoration of the Republic of Cuba, on Pham Van Dong on the occasion of his 80th birth anniversary, and on Le Duc Tho on the occasion of his 75th birth anniversary.

21. Closing of the soccer tournament (Division A) for the northern part of the country after over two months of contest among 12 teams. The teams of the Hanoi People's Police, the Army Sports Club, and Ha Nam Ninh Industries, take first, second and third places, respectively.

24—29. Hanoi: Holding of the 12th session of the CSVN Seventh National Assembly. It passes a resolution on socio-economic development for 1987; the Draft State Budget for 1987; the draft law on marriage and the family; and issues a statement hailing the 20th of the UN's Supreme Soviet for resolute action to build a nuclear-free world (See article in this issue).

26. Ho Arm Area: Formal reception of 500 kilograms of medicines + oil from the Vietnam Medical Association in France to the Ho Arm Kien people to help them recover from the damage caused by Typhoon Ke-i.

20. Hanoi: Commissioning of the Kim Son Bridge, 58 metres long, 24 metres wide, on the main highway linking Hanoi with Son Tay. It was designed and built by army units.

JANUARY

1-2. A US Congressional delegation headed by Senator Mark O. Hatfield visits Vietnam.

3. The SIV Council of State promulgates the Law on Marriage and the Family issued by the National Assembly on 29 December 1986.

3-5. A Vietnamese tourism delegation headed by Tran Quoc Huong, secretary of the CPV CC and head of the General Department of Tourism, pays a visit to Laos. An agreement on cooperation in this field between Vietnam and Laos is signed.

2-21. A Hungarian army football team visits Vietnam.

5-7. Several Chinese regiments with great artillery support attack Vi Xuyen district, Ha Tuyen province, on the Vietnam-China border.

6. The Political Bureau of the CPV CC takes a decision on the work procedure of Comrades Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, and Le Duc Tho as advisers to the CPV CC.

8. Hanoi: The Vietnam Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with Other Peoples, the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Peoples and the Vietnam Peace Committee, hold a grand meeting to celebrate the 75th founding anniversary of the African National Congress.

8-9. SIV Vice-Foreign Minister Nguyen Bich Son attends a consultative conference of vice foreign ministers of Asian socialist countries, held in Moscow.

8-10. Hanoi: Holding of an international symposium on "Women and Science in Southeast Asia".

9-12. Indian Minister for External Affairs Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari pays an official visit to Vietnam. Agreements on cooperation in oil and gas exploration and exploitation and on the granting of credits are signed.

12. Holding of a ceremony marking the blocking of the Dong Nai river (see article on page 51).

12. Hanoi: Holding of a conference of Vietnamese organizations for peace, solidarity and friendship, at which activities in 1986 are reviewed and the orientation and tasks for 1987 discussed.

13-14. Hanoi: The Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions holds a symposium "The renewal of our way of thinking and of the contents and forms of trade-union activities".

13-14. Tasuro Kunugi, special envoy of the UN Secretary General in charge of coordinating programs for humanitarian aid to Kampuchea, visits Vietnam.

14. Academician G.L. Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences, visits Vietnam.

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CSO: 4200/501

POLITICAL

VIETNAM

BRIEFS

FIVE EXPelled FROM PARTY--Of the 34 denunciations submitted by the people against violations of ethics and conduct by cadres and party members in 1986, the party control committee of Ward 4 has concluded 28 cases, including involvement of 4 members of the ward committee and 3 members of the party at the basic level. During the recent self-criticism and criticism drive alone, the committee completed 19 cases of violations, including 11 cases sent up to the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee for investigation. Results for the year were five persons from the ward were expelled from the party and seven persons names were erased. [Text] [Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Feb 87 p 1] 9830

CSO: 4209/357

FOOD PRODUCTION PROBLEMS EXAMINED

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English Feb 87 pp 18-19

[Text]

Over the past decade, and especially the past five years, great efforts have been made in Vietnam in the field of food production, and visible progress has been recorded.

Food output (rice and equivalent) increased from 11.8 million tonnes in 1973 to 13.5 million tonnes in 1976. It declined somewhat in 1977 and 1978 but recovered in 1979 and reached 14.4 million tonnes in 1980. Over the past five years it has regularly risen (1981: over 15 million tonnes; 1982: nearly 16.8 million tonnes; 1983: more than 16.9 million tonnes; 1984: more than 17.8 million tonnes; 1985: 18.2 million tonnes). These results are even better appreciated if one takes into account the food situation in the world at large and the fact that we have met with numerous difficulties: repeated natural calamities, economic sabotage and land-grabbing operations along our northern border by the enemy; serious imbalance in our material-technical infrastructure and in the supply of materials and equipment. With things viewed against this background, one will realize that we have indeed accomplished a lot. Over the past five years, on the average, the annual

increase in food output has been twice the population growth rate. Although the population has increased by six million, average food availability per head of population increased from 248 kilos in 1980 to 304 kilos in 1985.

The fast increase in food production stems from the boost given to rice culture. Attention has been paid to this crop in both the scientific-technical and the socio-economic fields. The renovation of management in agriculture has led to a sweeping mass revolutionary movement. This movement has spread from rice to other crops, and to animal husbandry as well. It has also spread to other fields of production. In rice production two points must be emphasized: intensive farming is regarded as a strategic orientation aimed at boosting output; and renovation of the mechanism of management has begun with the application of the product-based contract system down to the group and the individual producer.

Compared with 1980, in 1985 the sown area increased by only 0.45%; yet output augmented by 7.8%. This was due to a 7.4% increase in yield, a fairly good rate of increase by world standards and a very good rate compared with other countries with a similar geographical location. Intensive farming essentially means to make the most

of the potentials in land and labour and of climatic, biological and other factors. It has become a mass movement. More than 300 cooperatives and production collectives (lower-level cooperatives) have recorded yearly yields of 7-10 tonnes per hectare; 43 districts have attained more than 8 tonnes per hectare; and many provinces boast an average of 7 tonnes per hectare. Along with fighting the sequels of natural calamities and with the improvement of the winter-spring and the late-autumn rice crops, the improvement of crops has assumed important significance. In many provinces along the central coast, in eastern Van-Ninh, in the Mekong delta, and in the provinces of Lai-Thai, Tinh, and Binh-Tri-Thien, many fields which used to bear the late-autumn rice crop — the main crop of the year but subject to many hazards — are now sown to summer-autumn rice for intensive farming. This accounts for the fact that in many regions in 1973, in spite of natural calamities in late autumn, record yields were attained: 20.5 metric quintals per hectare (2.1 quintals in 1969).

favoured by other factors, the production of subsidiary food crops (crops other than rice) in the North last winter increased compared with previous years. Total output of these crops averaged the equivalent of 200,000 tonnes of paddy. Maize, which ranks second only to rice, was planted in 1973 over 300,000 hectares and yielded 11.9 metric quintals per hectare (9.6 in 1969) and 10.5 quintals in 1970.

However, there are still many unsolved problems.

While the average sown area per head of population remains rather small, there are still vast stretches of wasteland. In the past years, little has been done in the way of land clearing. The increase in sown area has been mostly due to improved irrigation and a result of the

rate of utilization of the soil. And even these factors suffer from many limitations. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, by 1973 the utilization rate of land throughout the country was only 1.5 (1.6 in the North, 1.6 in the South). Meanwhile, management of late measures is poor and each year about 200,000 acre-hectares are put to use only 200,000 ha (utilizing of 200,000).

Although general trends are well and truly reflected from figures for low starting-point account to the fact that the highest average annual yield is only 2.5 metric quintals per hectare, one of the lowest in the world. Worse still, yields are uneven and vary according to region, season and field.

The production of subsidiary food crops has on the whole declined. In 1973 it was only the equivalent of a little over one million tonnes of paddy. It reached its peak in 1972 with the equivalent of 2.9 million tonnes of paddy. But in 1960 it declined to 2.7 million tonnes and has continued to slide. Although some progress was made in 1963, output was still lower than in 1960. Potentials in this domain are very great, particularly in the highlands and plateaus of the North, the central Highlands, and eastern Ninh-Binh. There vast stretches of land lend themselves to the planting of sturdy tuber crops. Yet due to an efficient concern for these crops, their proportion in total food production is small. Thus, in human diet, it is only 1 against 51 for rice, while in France for instance, the potato-wheat flour ratio is 1.6.

The fact that food availability per head of population is now 204 kg is testifies to great efforts, yet it is a very low figure, which is

a bare minimum and approaches the limits of hunger. If the State were in control of the major part of marketable food, and were able to drastically reduce the rate of losses and carry out a rational distribution, the food problem might be regarded as having been solved. Although ratios will still be at a low level. But in fact the has not been the case. Due to various circumstances — geographical differences, certain conditions, levels of production, distribution of food has been uneven: the figure of 300 kilos is attained by less than half of the province, and while it reaches a peak of over 500 kilos in the Mekong delta, it is much lower in the northern highlands. Losses happen in the process of distribution, between harvest and consumption. In 1985 for instance, an increase of 1% in the rate of loss in the State sector would mean a loss of nearly 40,000 tonnes. In fact, due to inadequacies in drying, storage, packing, and transport facilities, the rate of loss averages 7-8%, and is in many cases even higher.

This state of affairs stems from various causes, both subjective and objective. Among the former, let us cite above all the failure of most levels of authority and branches of activity to grasp the Party line, according to which agriculture is the forefront of the production battle and food production is the key point. Although expenses have been cut down on some projects in order to increase investment in agriculture, and especially in food production, over the past five years the level of investment has been lower than in the previous five years (1976-80). Imported products such as chemical fertilizer, and insecticide are short and supply is often delayed. In 1985 mechanization of soil prepara-

tion was carried out on only 17.7% of the sown area (23.5% in 1980). The number of large tractors in operation over the past five years is only 20% of those working in 1976-80 and the number of small tractors only 38%. Investment for support branches does not show a judicious structure and has not received adequate attention. Although water conservation is given primary attention, many projects are badly coordinated. The Red River delta is not yet free from the danger of both flood and drought. On the whole, irrigation is ensured for only 50% of the area and drainage for only 1%. The requirements in rice strains for both high-lying and low-lying areas and in maize and potato strains have not been adequately met. Policies regarding the production of food grain and its collection and purchase by the State are not quite judicious, with the absurd result that, particularly concerning the cultivation of rice, the more effort is made for self-financing by the producer the less profit he derives. Relations of production in agriculture are yet to be perfected, particularly with regard to the product-based contract system, too much being left to the control of the farmer in certain cases and too little to the cooperative.

The above are the main reasons for the failure to attain the targets set for food production by the Fifth Party Congress. Achievements have failed to match the possibilities and whatever has been achieved is still unbalanced, unstable, and unsteady.

The target for 1986 is for food availability per head of population to be 350-350 kilos per year. This modest objective for a population then expected to number about 83 million calls for a yearly increase in food output of 0.9-1.2 million

tonnes over a period of five years (1986-90). According to statistical data of the past eleven years, the highest yearly increase attained during that period was 1.912 million tonnes (in 1976 over 1975), and the second highest 1.570 million tonnes (in 1972 over 1971). The average yearly increase attained during the past two decades falls short of the required rate of growth five years (2.1% per year). This truly great effort can be seen if the above targets for 1986 are to be reached.

INDUSTRIAL CROP PRODUCTION

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English Feb 87 pp 22, 24

[Text]

Before 1982 the development of our industrial crops was unstable. In the five years from 1976 to 1980 tens of thousands of hectares of land in the Central Highlands and in eastern Nam Bo were planted with coffee and rubber, but due to lack of experience and inadequate planting technique, the crops died in many areas. For instance, about one-third of the 12,000 hectares of newly-planted coffee was lost. With regard to such short-term crops as sugar cane, sesame, groundnuts, soya, jute, etc., the results fell short of both requirements and possibilities. The planted areas expanded but slowly, yields were low, product quality inadequate, and for several successive years the targets set for production and export were not attained. A not negligible cause of this situation was the lack of proper encouragement and management and failure to ensure the legitimate interests of the growers.

Following the Fifth National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on the basis of the guidelines, orientations and objectives set by the Congress, which decided to gradually do away with the bureaucratic subsidy-based system of management, more dynamism and efficiency were displayed in the planting of industrial crops.

It was the beginning of a turning-point. In many provinces, emphasis was laid on this branch of activity in all three sectors of the economy: State, collective and family. Efforts were focused on short-term crops while plans were worked out for the promotion of

perennial crops, in which international cooperation was brought into play. Step by step, special zones were delimited and a campaign got under way among the people to turn to account all potentials and plant industrial crops in family plots, especially short-growth crops yielding quick returns.

According to statistics released by the Ministry of Agriculture, by the end of 1985, the total area under industrial crops in the whole country was 1,068,000 ha, an increase of 411,000 ha from 1981; perennial crops covered 450,000 ha, an increase of 75.8%; short-growth crops 618,000 ha, up 66.2% from that year.

Rubber and coffee have been grown mostly in the State sector. Following the putting into effect of international cooperation programmes, large special areas under those crops have taken shape. By the end of 1985, the rubber area had reached 174,000 ha. According to statistics released by the State Planning Commission, in 1983-1985, 120,000 ha more were planted, 50,000 ha over and above the planned target. However, inadequate planting and tending technique has still led to the death of many trees. The growth rate is still below standard. In 1986, only 24,000 ha more have been planted, 2,000 ha short of the set target.

Coffee has displayed fairly steady progress. The area under this crop has increased by 18 times from 1980, reaching 39,000 ha. The plantations under the coffee trusts, totalling 13,000 hectares, have delivered to the State 2,000 tonnes of coffee beans over the past five

years. Protocols of international co-operation in coffee planting have been fully implemented. Proper attention has been paid to planting and tending technique and as a result many plantations have begun to yield returns after only two years. In the five years between 1981 and 1985, 25,000 hectares more were planted, including 14,000 ha in programmes of international cooperation. The first stage of Vietnam-GDR cooperation has been completed with the planting of 5,000 ha of coffee, and 700 tonnes of high-grade coffee beans have been delivered to the German side. The Vietnam-Bulgaria protocol provided for the planting of 5,000 ha in the first stage; so far 3,000 ha have been planted. The Vietnam-Soviet protocol set the target of 5,000 ha for the first stage. Parallel to the implementation of those international programmes, a mass movement has developed among the people for coffee planting in family plots in Dong Nai province, there total more than 4,000 ha; in Bao Loc province, more than 5,000 ha; and in Lam Dong, nearly 3,000 ha.

Tea has recovered from a recent period of decline. However, the growth rate is rather slow and yearly output only hovers round 100,000 tonnes. This is due partly to soil exhaustion in the uplands and highlands of the north, and partly to the inadequate purchase prices set by the State.

Cotton encountered major difficulties in 1981-82 but has since recovered due to proper encouragement policies: the growers' cotton fibre can be exchanged for fabrics; scattered planting among the people is combined with concentrated planting in the State sector; good strains are supplied to the people by the State. In 1982, 29,650 hectares were put under cotton, a threefold increase over 1981. However, the State sector still accounts for barely 650 hectares. Yields are 6.5 metric quintals per hectare and output is only 422 tonnes, a long way from meeting the needs of the textile industry.

Soya is a promising crop. It supplies protein to men and animals, upgrades the soil, and is a good export item. At the Fifth Party Congress the target of 250,000-300,000 tonnes was set for the year

1985. However, only one-third of that objective was achieved: 86,000 tonnes, from a total area of 92,000 hectares. This situation was due to a number of reasons: lack of insecticides, incorrect planting schedules in certain places, low yields, low purchase prices set by the State. The lack of proper incentives to soya planters has led to instability in the area planted to this crop.

Groundnut and tobacco have progressed in both area and output.

Sugarcane planting has followed a correct orientation: concentrated planting in special zones supplies raw materials to sugar refineries; scattered planting among the people is combined with the operation of small processing facilities. From 109,000 hectares in 1980 the planted area increased to 165,000 ha by 1984. In 1985, however, it declined to 146,000 hectares due to insufficient incentives to the growers.

Rush planting suffers from insufficient investment. Production grows only slowly and unsteadily. Output was 85,000 tonnes in 1985. While showing a 19% increase over 1980, it was lower than in 1984.

BRIEFS

KIEN GIANG FERTILIZER FACTORY--With assistance from the Chemicals General Department and the Fertilizer Corporation of the South, Kien Giang Province has completed construction on and put into operation a phosphate fertilizer factory in the vicinity of raw materials deposits in Duong Hoa Village, Ha Tien District. It has an output capacity of 20,000 tons per year. It is the first phosphate fertilizer factory in the delta region of the south. The factory has recently turned out its first batches from the ovens, including roasted phosphate fertilizer, phosphate fertilizer pellets, and synthetic phosphate fertilizer pellets. [Text] [Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Feb 87 p 1] 9830

CSO: 4209/357

RETURN OF ANTIREVOLUTIONARY, 'DECADENT' BOOKS REPORTED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Feb 87 p 1

[Article by Ha Kieu]

[Text] Recently, especially since the lunar new year, bookstands with old books for sale have sprung up on sidewalks in scattered locations. We are not going to talk here about how these merchants take up room on the sidewalks and sell goods illegally, a situation that has persisted for many years, and is evidence of the poor effectiveness of the forces maintaining social order. We only want to touch on the political and cultural aspects of this matter.

Observing, every afternoon, the works displayed for sale in a cluttered manner along the sidewalk on Hung Vuong Street, what do we see? Of course not all the books are bad, because no one would be so bold as to openly display a face that is completely black. One sees books from such publishers as Van Hoc [Literature], Tac Pham Moi [New Works], and Van Nghe TPHCM [Ho Chi Minh City Arts and Letters]. Yet hidden behind and between these "covering" books are innumerable works that smell reactionary and decadent, and were published under the former regime; a mere glance through them is enough to startle a person.

There is plenty of trash--from "Tieu Ngao Giang Ho" ["Prostitute Jokes"], by Kim Dung, to research books on martial arts; from books on "studying man," the majority of which present a pragmatic U.S. way of life, to books teaching fortune-telling with cards and Arab fortune-telling!

More seriously, reactionary psychological warfare books by commandos in writers' clothing, such as Nguyen Manh Con, Doan Quoc Sy, Mai Thao, Duong Nghiem Mau, Duyen Anh, and Nha Ca, are openly displayed. Closely related are the cynical anti-Communist voices of such reactionary foreign writers as Ian Flemming. It is all the more startling that the sellers dare display out in the open sun books of anti-Communist doctrine such as "Vietnam truoc thoi cuoc chuyen huong" ["Vietnam Before the Change in Direction"], and "Vietnam truoc lua chon dan chu" ["Vietnam Before Choosing Democracy"], by Tran Van An, an instructor at the (puppet regime) National Defense High-level School and at the same time a special advisor to the president of the former regime on political and cultural matters.

Alongside these openly anti-Communist books there are also those types of

books that spread existentialist doctrines and nihilism and arouse passions, and, though not outwardly displaying the viewpoints of the Americans and Saigon regime, actually belong to the ideological system of neocolonialism, serving the reactionary political and ideological plots of the Americans and their lackeys.

Not only bad books are sold here. Innumerable bad songs also catch the eye, songs printed during the past regime by Pham Duy, Y Van, Tram Tu Thieng, etc., such as "Surviving and Coming Back," "Angel in Red Beret," "24 Hours' Leave," and "Choked with Tears." Then there are tapes and records with such concoctions as "What Love To Give Each Other," "Forest Flower To Give You," "The Moon Follows the Steps of the Soldier," and "Kissing for the Last Time." The contents of these songs lack determination and smell of psychological warfare.

What is worth noting is that the majority of the managers of these "cultural bookstands" are educated people. It cannot be said that they do not thoroughly understand the contents of the books they thrust out and the damage they cause. What is strange is that whatever the consequences, they continue to display with indifference this cultural garbage for sale, day after day. Every afternoon, at these stands, there is a bustle of buying and selling. And it never changes!

In raising the issue of the astonishing present circumstances, we want to know who these merchants are and what is behind these services. Do they think perhaps that because our state is presently dealing with economic problems, it can let cultural and social problems go? If that were true, management agencies would have part of the responsibility, but, first of all, that is an unintentional or purposeful misunderstanding.

The situation over the past 11 years has shown the latent and lasting damage of neocolonialism on the ideological and cultural fronts. To underestimate its influence is an unrealistic, if not foolhardy, attitude.

The political report at the Sixth Party Congress emphasized, "In the world and in our country, the struggle between the socialist ideology and the capitalist ideology is becoming fierce. The enemy outside and inside the country is constantly searching for ways to destroy us ideologically." It clearly pointed out our mission to "resist the vestiges of feudal, colonial, and capitalistic culture and defeat the plots and activities of enemy influences to turn culture and the arts into tools for spreading a pessimistic psychology and a decadent life."

The Sixth Party Congress sternly criticized desertions from the ideological front in many places over the past and pointed that out that the direction for correcting this is to reorganize the struggle against the psychological warfare of the enemy, "especially in the large cities." Our city is a large city. But even if it were a small city or a rural area with such unwholesome phenomena as those above, we would still have to sound the alarm bell!

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GAMBLING REVEALED AS METHOD OF SAPPING PEOPLE'S STRENGTH

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 15 Feb 87 p 2

[Article by Trong Nghia]

[Text] It is a fact recognized not only by outsiders, but even by people with gambling in their blood and those who like to try their hand at gambling. Whatever form it takes, gambling is always synonymous with infidelity, ingratitude, and misfortune. That is why we have the old saying, "Gambling is a pauper, without money, without coins, and with feet in shackles." It is still valid, and if anything further is needed, one need only add that next to gong number 8 is the knife, the hammer, and...the coffin.

It is clear as day. Why, then, do we still have crowds of people, unclear about the enticements of the ghosts and demons, or out of greed, looking sidelong into the billfolds of others and dreaming--and seeking out gambling bouts to take money, to quarrel and fight, and put each other in the cemetery.

First of all, let us look at how it has turned out for those good and bad luck guys who lose to each other in gambling matches.

At 1300 hours, 16 January 1987, at house No 75/4-6 Han Hai Nguyen Street, Sub-ward 18, Ward 11, the public forces confiscated from next to game organizer Huynh Tai, who did not have a chance to get away, 38,200 dong, four rings, and one piece of gold leaf. In another case in Ward 5, authorities arrested three "buddies" with 108,580 dong and 4 gold rings. Stranger yet is a case in Ward 5, An Lac Town, Binh Chanh District, where two pairs of gamblers, within 2 or 3 hours, with pockets bulging with the money they had won from other people who were avaricious for the money in other peoples' billfolds, parted with 42,100 dong. This case took place on 3 February 1987. In addition to confiscating the above money, public security forces arrested one with itchy palms who came to invest funds from Sub-ward 1, Ward 5: Phung To Ha, a resident of 189/15 Ham Tu Street.

According to statistics of the Peace and Order Maintenance Office of the municipal public security forces, there is nothing rare about cases of gambling involving tens and hundreds of thousands of dong. And the problem does not stop merely at the matter of money being taken from one person's

pocket and put into that of another in a dishonest way. Gambling has caused many friends and neighboring hamlets to become embroiled with each other.

At 2000 hours on 29 January 1987, the first day of the lunar new year, at the home of Mr Thai Van Nam, 326/78 Doan Van Bo Street, Sub-ward 16, Ward 4, a big fight took place that was occasioned by the failure to exchange enough money. This resulted in Mr Nam receiving a cut on his head and Hoang, his son, losing a little finger. The son of Mr Mai Van Kien (a resident of No 326/60 Doan Van Bo Street) was knocked out by Thai Van Lang, the son of Mr Nam, with a cane, and had to be taken for medical attention. And on 3 February 1987, Mr Kien, 45 years old, died.

Tran Van Vinh, just 22 years old when a resident of 62/16/11 Ben Chuong Duong Street, will never again see the light of day after a fellow member of the Crab, Fish, and Tiger Club, Hua Huu Muoi Hai (residing at 91/3 Ben Chuong Duong), stabbed him once, rendering him dead on the spot on 2 January 1987 in Sub-ward 18.

Also according to preliminary statistics of the Peace and Order Maintenance Office of the municipal public security forces, over a period of less than the past month, in 10 wards and districts (Wards 3, 4, 10, 11, Tan Binh and Phu Nhuan Wards, and Hoc Mon, Nha Be, Cu Chi, and Binh Chanh Districts) there were as many as 227 cases of gambling, with thousands of participants--among them 15 large-scale cases (with more than 55 participants)--for which dossiers are being completed for trial. As for cases of seemingly open gambling on sidewalks and alleyways at the level of several hundred to a few thousand dong--they are not included!

Gambling is becoming a more fearful disease every day. It is like doses of injections into the body of a sick person pushing him further along the road of crime. And it has also been injected, not infrequently, into poor workers and into the youth and teenager age groups, causing them to become restless and shifty.

Gambling is no less a form of pickpocketing and theft than cases of robbery, and in some circumstances its effects are more dangerous and deeper. For this reason it is camouflaged under the guise of "games"--cards, Mah-Jongg, chess--that seem normal and attractive to all participants. It is a way of waylaying and tearing to shreds an entire generation. It must be said outright that gambling is a form of stealing from each other, a way of killing people without weapons, a crime destroying the strength of people. It is a criminal act that the law must punish.

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INFORMATION ON VIETNAMESE PERSONALITIES

[The following information on Vietnamese personalities has been extracted from Vietnamese-language sources published in Hanoi, unless otherwise indicated. Asterisked job title indicates that this is the first known press reference to this individual functioning in this capacity.]

Le Do Binh [LEE DOOX BINHF]

*Deputy Director of the Natural Resources Management Department, Geology General Department; his article on minerals research appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Oct 86 inside front cover)

Nguyen Chat [NGUYEENX CHAATS], Colonel, deceased

Former Deputy Commander of the Haiphong Municipality Military Command; member of the CPV; born in 1914 in Tich Giang Village, Ba Vi District, Hanoi Municipality, he was retired and living in Haiphong at the time of his death on 4 March 1987 at the 203d Military Hospital. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 7 Mar 87 p 4)

Cao Binh Dan [CAO BINHF ZAAN], aka Cao Van Ngan [CAO VAWN NGOON], Colonel, deceased

Member of the CPV; Deputy Director of the Military Science Department, General Staff; born in 1924 in Hai Yen Village, Tinh Gia District, Thanh Hoa Province, he died after a sudden illness on 19 February 1987. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 21 Feb 87 p 4)

Nguyen Ngoc Doan [NGUYEENX NGOCJ ZOANX], *Major General, deceased

Member of the Military Medical Committee, Ministry of National Defense; former Deputy Director of the 108th Military Hospital; Chairman of the Pharmaceutical Department, Hanoi Medical School; member of the Vietnamese Pharmaceutical Association; he died on 24 February 1987 after an illness, at the age of 73. (HANOI MOI 27 Feb 87 p 4)

Hoàng Trong Bai [HOANGF TRONGJ DALJ]

Vice Minister of Foreign Trade; on 3 March 1987 he attended the signing ceremony of a protocol on goods exchange and payment for 1987 between Vietnam and Albania. (NHAN DAN 4 Mar 87 p 1)

Nguyễn Đàm [NGUYEENX DAMF], Colonel

Acting Commander of the 11th Capital Construction Corps; he was interviewed on his unit's accomplishments in 1986. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 24 Feb 87 p 3)

Trần Đỗ [TRAANF DOOJ]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; Chairman of the Culture and Education Committee of the National Assembly; recently he welcomed a Soviet delegation visiting Vietnam. (NHAN DAN 24 Feb 87 p 1)

Đỗ Minh Đức [ZUWOWNG MINH DUWCS]

*Deputy Director of the Mineral Geology Institute, Geology General Department; his article on analysis of geologic samples appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

Ha Huy Giap [HAF HUY GIAPS]

Director of the Ho Chi Minh Museum; his report on Ho Chi Minh's economic theories appeared in the cited source. (THONG TIN KHOA HOC XA HOI No 95 May 86 p 1)

Vũ Trọng Hà [VUX TRONGJ HAF], Colonel

*Commander of the Army Engineer Branch; his article on his branch appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 13 Mar 87 p 3)

Phạm Minh Hạc [PHAMJ MINH HACJ]

*Minister of Education; on 23 February 1987 he welcomed a Soviet cultural delegation. (GIAO VIEN NHAN DAN 9 Mar 87 p 1)

Phạm Hòa [PHAMJ HAOF]

Vice Chairman of the Vietnam Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation with Kampuchea and Laos; on 18 February 1987 he attended the 8th anniversary of Vietnam-Kampuchea cooperation. (NHAN DAN 19 Feb 87 p 1)

Le Khắc Hiếu [LEE KHAWCS HIEEUS]

*Vice Minister of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare; on 17 February 1987 he signed a Protocol on labor cooperation between the GDR and Vietnam. (NHAN DAN 19 Feb 87 p 4)

Tran Hoan [TRAANF HOANF]

*Minister of Information; on 2 March 1987 he attended a meeting held by the Office of Information and Culture to review work in 1986 and set tasks for 1987. (HANOI MOI 4 Mar 87 p 1)

Pham Xuan Hoang [PHAMJ XUAAN HOANGF]

*Director of the International Cooperation Department, Geology General Department; his article on minerals research appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Oct 86 inside front cover)

Nguyen Khanh [NGUYEENX KHANHS]

*Secretary of the CPV Central Committee; *Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers; on 11 March 1987 he welcomed the Soviet Foreign Minister visiting Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 12 Mar 87 p 1)

Doan Huy Khac [ZOANX HUY KHAWCS], Professor

*Director of the Testing Department, Ministry of Public Health; his article on drug inspection appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

Doan Khuê [DOANF KHUEE], *Colonel General

*Member of the Politic Bureau of the CPV Central Committee; *Vice Minister of Defense; *Chief of the Vietnam General Staff; on 23 February 1987 he attended a reception held by the Soviet Military Attache in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 24 Feb 87 p 1)

Trinh Xuan Lang [TRINJH XUAAN LANGX]

*Director of Information and Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; on 5 February 1987 he held a press conference at the International Club in Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 6 Feb 87 p 4)

Vu Biet Linh [VUX BIEETJ LINH], Professor

*Director of the Forestry Research Institute, Ministry of Forestry; his article on 1986-1990 plans for his institute appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

Phan Thanh Liem [PHAN THANH LIEEM]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; *Minister of Engineering and Metals; on 3 March 1987 he accompanied General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee Nguyen Van Linh to visit two factories in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 5 Mar 87 p 4)

Nguyen Hien Pha [NGUYEENX HIEENF PHA], Colonel

Chief of the public security forces, Thanh Tri District, Hanoi; his article on a corruption case appeared in the cited source. (NHAN DAN 5 Mar 87 p 3)

Tran Van Phac [TRAANF VAWN PHACS]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; *Minister of the Culture; on 26 February 1987 he gave a closing speech at a conference held by his ministry to review work in 1986 and sets tasks for 1987. (HANOI MOI 27 Feb 87 p 1)

Thai Phien [THAIS PHIEEN]

Deputy Director of the Pedology and Agro-Chemistry Institute, Ministry of Agriculture; his article on deforestation and anti-erosion measures appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Oct 86 inside front cover)

Nguyen Quyet [NGUYEENX QUYEETS], Colonel General

Secretary of the CPV Central Committee; *Director of the Political General Department; on 23 February 1987 he attended a reception held by the Soviet Military Attaché in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 24 Feb 87 p 1)

Nguyen Hoanh Son [NGUYEENX HOANHF SOWN], *Colonel

*Director of the Organization Bureau, Organization and Mobilization Department; he wrote a letter in answer to a complaint about transportation for soldiers on leave. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 23 Feb 87 p 2)

Tran Van Son [TRAANF VAWN SOWN]

*Deputy Director of the Crop Cultivation Department, Ministry of Agriculture; his article "To Expand the Production of Maize" appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

Doan Duy Thanh [DOANF ZUY THANHF]

Member of the CPV Central Committee; *Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Minister of Foreign Trade; on 11 March 1987 he welcomed the Soviet Foreign Minister visiting Hanoi. (HANOI MOI 12 Mar 87 p 1)

Nguyen Van Thi [NGUYEENX VAWN THLJ], MS

*Deputy Director of the Testing Department, Ministry of Public Health; his article on the Drug Control Institute appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

[^] ² Ngo Thao [NGOO THAOR]

Associate Editor of the performing arts journal SAN KHAU; his name appeared on the masthead of the journal. (SAN KHAU Oct 86 inside front cover)

[^] Nguyen Thao [NGUYEENX THAOS], *Colonel

*Deputy Commander of the 15th Corps; he was pictured examining a rubber tree in Tay Nguyen Province. (QUAN DOI NHAN DAN 26 Feb 87 p 3)

Xuan Trinh [XUAAN TRINHF]

Editor-in-chief of the performing arts journal SAN KHAU; his name appeared on the masthead of the journal. (SAN KHAU Oct 86 inside front cover)

[^] Vu Tuan [VUX TUAAN]

*Minister of Light Industry; on 3 March 1987 he accompanied General Secretary of the CPV Central Committee Nguyen Van Linh to visit two factories in Hanoi. (NHAN DAN 5 Mar 87 p 4)

[^] Vu Anh Tuan [VUX ANH TUAANS]

*Head of the Proselytizing Committee of the CPV Committee, Hanoi Municipality; *Vice Chairman of the Hanoi People's Committee; on 23 February 1987 he attended a meeting to discuss the National Assembly election. (HANOI MOI 24 Feb 87 p 1)

² Bui Quang Toan [BUIF QUANG TOANR]

*Deputy Director of the Agricultural Projects and Planning Institute, Ministry of Agriculture; his article on maize production appeared in the cited source. (TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC Sep 86 inside front cover)

[^] Dinh Van Tuy [DINH VAWN TUY], *Lieutenant General

Commander of the Border Defense Force; on 2 March 1987 he attended the 28th anniversary of the Border Defense Force. (NHAN DAN 4 Mar 87 p 1)

[^] Nguyen Trong Xuyen [NGUYEENX TRONGJ XUYEEN], Major General

*Secretary of the CPV Committee and *Commander, 3d Military Region; his article about his military region appeared in the source. (NHAN DAN 23 Feb 87 p 3)

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